

1.4 - 12 mm
19.21 - 7 mm
5-9 9 mm.

THE CONTINUING MANIFESTATIONS OF THE POWER OF GOD IN CHURCH HISTORY.

Some of the books & articles referred to:

Eusebius ^{"the father of ch. history"} ^{of Caesarea} Ecclesiastical History (Εκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία) or (Historia Ecclesiastica) (324 AD)
 Augustine of Hippo, Concerning the City of God against the Pagans, (426 AD)
 Johann L. Masheim, "father of modern ch. history", Institutenes Historiae Ecclesiasticae, (1726, 1755)
 J. G. von Herder, Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, (1784-91)
 Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History (1934-59).

Historicism

Leopold von Ranke, The Theory and Practice of History, ed. 1973 by G. G. Iggers (includes von Humboldt's
 G. G. Iggers "On the Historian's Task")
 Ernst Troeltsch "Die Krisis des Historismus" (1922), cited with other references in Toynbee, in G. G. Iggers, German Conceptions of History: the national
 Georgy V. Plekhanov, The Development of the Marxist View of History, 1895.

Maxim
Cyclic

Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History (1934-59).
 Sir Herbert Butterfield, Writings on Xty & History, ed. by C. T. McIntire, 1979
 Sir Herbert Butterfield, Christianity and History, 1949.
 Reinhold Niebuhr, Faith and History: a comparison of Christian and modern views of history, 1949.
 Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The Christian Understanding of History", The American Historical Review, 1949.
 A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols, 1937-45.

D. W. Bebbington, Patterns in History. A Christian View, 1979
 Eric C. Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, 1963
 G. W. H. Lampe, Reformation Views of Church History, 1970

Auguste Comte, Positive Philosophy, tr. Harriet Martineau (N.Y. D. Appleton Co., 1854) 2 vols.
 vol. II ch. III p 871 & ch. X. Man is on second highest & perfect.

John L. Mosheim - father of modern ch. history - a rational infidelist "don't deny the supernatural, but deny it" ^{secularist} ^{history of Ch. Hist.} (1726, 1755) ①

The Continuous Manifestations of the Power of God in Church History

I. God in History.

There is a ~~pr~~^{pr} question that the ~~historian~~^{historian} face before ~~he~~^{the} historian can

dare to deal with the subject given me: "The Continuous Manifestations of God in Church History," ^{he must deal with a prior question.} Before he can plunge into the subject

of God in Church history, he must face the deeper and more penetrating question, "Is God in history at all?" ^{that is a theological question, then any} ^{if he cannot be found in history, several books} ^{then any one pretends} ^{to find him at work in} ^{ch. history, cannot} ^{properly be called an} ^{historian at} ^{all} This is the question the professional historians throw at ch. historians, and most ~~secular~~^{secular} historians throw at church historians, and until they get an answer ^{until they receive an answer} to that question, they are reluctant to admit that a church ~~historian~~^{historian} can be

in their words, a "real" historian at all. ^{is, in their words "real" history at all.}

Why this reluctance to accept ch. history as real history? It is the reason, very simply, is that

Why is this so? ^{Because the dominant philosophies of history} ^{ever since the end of the Middle Ages, have been, essentially, non-Christian.} By these the

pre-suppositions, and ^{by the} ^{ad methodolopies} definitions of history which result from these pre-suppositions, ^{any attempt to introduce God into the historical process, to be considered} ^{unscientific at}

best, superstitions at worst, and in either case unhistorical, beyond the reasonable

scope of the historian. ^{The trouble with the Christian ch. historian the said, is that he starts with faith - so that it is his faith, not his logic, that brings God into the picture. That the Age of Faith is gone - way is the Age of Reason, the Age of Science, and follows (which became the Age of Science) René Descartes (abt 1600) in declaring "The beginning of knowledge is doubt", not faith.}

A. Secular Views of History

David Bebbington, in his Patterns of History: A Christian View (Doubleday, 1979)

Intervarsity Press, 1979) classifies the major ~~non-Christian~~^{non-Christian} schools of historical ^{of the last hundred years} ^(apart from the Christian) ^{writing in four} ^{main groups; four}

① The cyclical ^{new} ^{is the old pagan view of history,} ^{This traces back to classical Greek and Buddhist times. It} ^{was} ^{revived} ^{by Nietzsche,} ^{on an atheistic, pessimistic model, and in the} ^{20th c. by} ^{Taylor,} ^{who tried to make it more Christian}

When the "Age of Faith" ended at the beginning of the "Age of Reason" began in the "Age of Science" began with Descartes - all knowledge is doubt.

(over)
 While not doing the point of
 theme described
 made as part of
 they as part of

It is essentially fatalistic; the wheels turn, but man can do nothing to change them. ^{Essentially fatalistic}

Auguste Comte, writing in the 1820s put the case most bluntly. Man's views of history, in fact of all reality, move thru three stages. First is the Theological stage, in which he attributes everything to God. Second is the idealistic ^{or metaphysical} stage, in which he ~~reignantly~~ respects God, but is still looking for a primary cause, some sort of abstracted, philosophical ideal. The third & highest stage is positivism: here man finally realizes that all he can really know is ^{never} ~~some kind of relationship between things, between facts as he can see them,~~ God, or even a primary cause, but ~~the facts~~ things as he sees them, observed facts and some kind of relationship between facts. (A. Comte, Positive Philosophy (1830-42).

In one way or another, most of the ~~current~~ ^{like Comte,} philosophies of history of our time ^{have for almost two centuries} ~~try~~ ^{to} ~~and~~ ^{at least try} squeeze God out, ^{They have summed up the interpretation of history} and dismiss ~~him~~ as old-fashioned & outworn. D. W. Bebbington.

by introducing into the cycles of the rise and fall of cultures a note of religious optimism. He compares the cycles to the turning of a chariot wheel. The rim rises and falls, but ^{the wheel climbs upward to give higher levels of religion} ~~religion continues to flourish~~. [If religion is a chariot, he writes, "it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts towards Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on earth."] (Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948), p. 234-235). Reinhold Niebuhr as a Theologian, gently calls attention to the weakness of this pretty view (R. Niebuhr, *Faith of History*, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), but it is difficult not to see that Toynbee has done ~~nothing~~ but substitute "religion for fate" into the ~~same~~ cyclical view of history, and religion is not God. The question remains, Is God in history?

② The ^{new} progressive ^{view} ~~view~~. The second historical school, the progressive, would generally answer, "No." ^{It is the} ~~is the~~ naturalist, or evolutionary, view of history. But unlike

Toynbee, who ^{at least in} ~~borrows~~ his belief in progress resembles this viewpoint, the progressive school of history ^{indeed} ~~and~~ generally attributes the inevitable progress of the human race not to religion (and much less, of course, to God) but rather to

~~the triumph of man's mind~~, ^{especially the scientific mind} or to the natural, ^{scientific} process of natural selection ^{in evolution}, as triumphantly discovered by Charles Darwin. ^{It was Comte in the 1830s who predicted that the triumph of science would be man's highway to perfection.} ~~The most~~ ^{from Comte (1788) & Comte (1830) to Comte's (1830) & Comte's (1830) & Comte's (1830) & Comte's (1830)} ~~insistence~~ ^{is} ~~attributed~~ ⁱⁿ the name optimism in the 'progressive' historians, was Reinhold Niebuhr,

in his book "Faith of History" (N.Y. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949)

~~The mention of~~ ^{Christians, too, can have a sense of progress in history, of course, (and Toynbee's book)}
~~The mention of Toynbee & Acton~~ ^{is a reminder that Christian historians}

~~have often adopted non-Christian~~ ^{perhaps presumptuously} ~~or been drawn into non-Christian~~ ^{or more precisely non-Biblical} ~~what~~
 I have ^{perhaps presumptuously} ~~labelled~~ "non-Christian" philosophies of history. A better and, ^{right} ~~perhaps~~ ~~and~~ ~~be~~

"non-Biblical." ^{is a great history of liberal Catholic} ~~When Acton~~ ^{embraced} the idea of progress as a key to history, he was perfectly sure he was being true to his Catholic faith. "Not to believe in progress," he

④ The Marxist view. The fourth category is the Marxist view of history. ^{This} It is a combination of several other viewpoints, notably the historicist and ^{evolutionary} the progressive, but it is so pervasive today, ~~particularly in that world~~ even outside the communist bloc, ~~and~~ particularly in third-world academic circles (Japan and Latin America for example), ^{and so restricted both in its} that it is usually considered as a separate philosophy of history. ~~There is~~

~~The Marxist historian of course~~ ^{he has already} ~~It has~~ ^{rejected} the idea of God in history, ~~for it~~ ^{rejects} God. Its classic exponent is neither

Marx nor Engels but ^{was the key influence by} Georg Plekhanov, whose book The Development of the Marxist View of History (1895: Moscow, 1956) ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{consciously} ~~consciously~~ ^{leaves} ~~leaves~~ ^{no} ~~no ^{room} ~~room for God. (Bebb., p. 129). It was~~~~

^{also} Plekhanov, not Marx or Engels, who first described Marxism as "dialectical materialism" - ^{That} which is not quite ~~economic~~ ^{economic} "economic determinism", i.e. the view that ^{it is} man's ^{economic} social condition,

not man himself ^{but} ~~that~~ ^{pre-} ~~pre-~~ ^{de-} ~~de-~~ ^{termines} ~~termines~~ the course of all human history, but it is so close to it ^{There is no God, of course, and} ~~to~~ ^{precisely} ~~precisely~~ that fatalistic that it is often hard to tell the difference. There are no great men, ^{either} he Plekh.

Says, for great men are the product of economic forces. (The Role of the Individual in History). And ^{not God} ~~again~~, class struggle ^{is} the key to history: "Marxism is Darwinism in its application to ~~social sciences~~ ^{social sciences}". ^{which notes} ~~And that, as~~ ^{Bebbington notes, makes} ~~making~~ ^{history} a branch of evolution", adds Bebbington (p. 130).

The Christian View of History

Is there a Christian view of history? ^{1. ~~From the point of view of a Christian alternative to secular interpretations~~}
faced with so sweeping an exclusion of God from history by the

world's most powerful philosophies of history, ~~what~~ is how can the church

historian speak to his peers about "The Continuous Manifestations of God in
Chck History." ^{Not many have been brave enough to try when} Some have tried. My own teacher, Prof. Kenneth Scott

Latturelle of Yale, ^{was elected} upon his election to the presidency of the prestigious American
Historical Association, ^{He was Prof. of Oriental History, as well as Prof. of History at Yale - & his secular colleagues hoped he would play it} chose as the theme of his inaugural address "The Christian

Understanding of History", and met a cool reception - part ~~embarrassment~~ part

~~outright hostility~~ ^{Appreciation was rather thin in that circle of professional historians, mostly non-Ch. But the publication of that address in} but partly appreciation. That was in 1948, and Latturelle
^{the lecture in Apr 1949, was the only such, as it were, of a Christian center - attack against history without God.}

was part of a moment in historical studies that saw the tide begin to turn, at

^{His speech was published} ^{That same year saw} least in America. It was also the year ⁱⁿ that Reinhold Niebuhr published Faith + History; and
^{in England, a respected highly respected voice was heard in Cambridge: Sir Herbert Butterfield published his Christianity and History.}

A few years later, in England, one of the wisest and most respected

historians of our time, a man ^{soon} to be appointed Regius Prof. of Modern History at Cambridge,

Herbert Butterfield (now Sir Herbert) ~~wrote~~ ^{cut} through all the many different lists of ⁺ types
types and categories of ^{and} the different historical schools of historians and said flatly,

"let us make ^{one of} one thing ~~clear~~ - in the long run there are only two alternative
views about life or about history ... Either you trace everything back to sheer

blind chance, or you trace everything back to God." ~~God~~ ("God in History",
Chck of Enghd Youth Council Newsletter, July 1952; publ. in Herbert Butterfield: Writings on
Christianity and History, C.T. McIntire, ed., N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979, p 8).

"In the long run," as ^{without God} Butterfield put it - all of ^{the familiar} ~~Babbington's~~ ^{five} categories - cyclical, progressive, historicist, and Marxist - despite their useful insights + partial grasp of important truths, fizzle out in failure like spent rockets. The cyclical view turns history into a spiral cage; the ~~progressive~~ ~~blow~~ ~~the~~ people hopes of the progressives ~~but~~ blow up in our faces with every world war or nuclear explosion, the historicists fell to fighting ^{competing} nationalist claims of fault or innocence in the calamities of international war; and the Marxists, who pointed to man's productivity as the key to human progress, saw their own communist countries out-produced by the hated capitalists.

Butterfield himself is a prime example of ~~a long return to the~~ ^{when the old} revival of a Christian interpretation of history among historians. A Regius Professor of History at Cambridge is no ordinary job. He is professor by appointment of the King. In 1903 the Regius Prof. of Mod. Hist. at Cambridge was G. B. ^{who had} Bury, an enormously learned man. He succeeded Lord Acton to that position.

Acton who ~~is famous for the aphorism~~ "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely", ^{optimistic} ^{of an optimistic historian} ~~was~~ a liberal Catholic, ~~and though an~~ ^{optimistic} ~~historical progressive~~ was not unaware of the corruption possibilities of sin. He ~~was~~ ^{is} famous for the aphorism "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely". All his life ~~he was a top 19th-c. liberal Catholic who labored all his life~~

~~he strove to show~~ to show that history has a meaning, ~~under God~~. But J. B. Bury, ^{his successor} ~~came to his chair~~ ^{was} a man more typical of the age, an age when the old certainties of faith

that postwar chair of history was the best thing that had happened to the chair.

were crumbling before the harsh questions and doubts of the new god, Science
 In his very first lecture he told his hearers flatly that history has no
 meaning. Later he amplified his disbelief. He said, ^{for example, that} it was not God who
 changed the whole pattern of history, ^{just before the birth of Xt} at a turning point in the story of Rome ~~just before~~
~~the birth of Christ~~, ^{was not God, &} it was the shape of Cleopatra's nose! ~~It was~~ pure
 chance, a woman's beauty, ^{he said,} ~~that started~~ accelerated the fall of the Republic and the

rise of the Empire (cf. B. Bury "The Science of History" (1903), - "Cleopatra's Nose" (1916),
 in Selected Essays of J. B. Bury, ed. by Harold Temperley, Cambridge U Press, 1930, cited by
 C. T. McIntire, op. cit. p. xxviii)

But after Bury the ~~tree~~ ^{land agent} ~~land~~ ^{those who in the name of science could see no meaning in hist. beyond hist.} at Cambridge, The last three Regius

Professors of Modern History there have all been active, confessing Christians:

David Knowles, a Catholic monk (to 1955); Sir Herbert Butterfield, a Methodist lay-
 preacher (1955-1968), and Owen Chadwick (1968-), the present incumbent, an

2. The Anglican and a Church historian.

Now, ^{actively} Christian historians differ greatly, ^{from each other on many points,} but on one thing they do
 agree: God does manifest his power in history. A Christian interpretation
 of ~~his~~ history begins with God, ^{continues with God, & ends with God.} and with his sovereign role in history. ^{So on the foundation of that declaration of faith} ~~beginning with that~~
~~with that declaration,~~ ^{as the foundation} we ~~explore~~ ^{follow Latourette's marginal address and} outline the Christian view of God in history

as ~~follows~~ Christian historians could ^{in general} agree in general ^{with Latourette} with a view of on the following

main points of the interpretation of history, an outline in which I will more or less loosely follow
 Latourette's significant ~~address~~ address to the Historical Society: -

6. ~~The Holy Spirit as the Formative Factor in Church History.~~

1. ~~The God of History is the God of the Bible who reveals himself in the Bible.~~

Creation

1. God ~~as creator~~ created the universe, this was history's beginning. And God is ^{its} the ruling ~~power~~ power.

~~of all~~ He gives history its shape. "Ultimately and in his own way, as the Christian view

maintains," said Latourette ~~to his audience of professional historians~~, "God is sovereign in the

affairs of man." (Latourette, in Amer. Historical Rev., LIV, No. 2, Jan 1949, p. 263).

^{man's free will} God created man as the climax of creation, and in his own image. What that means is not clearly

2. The climax of creation is man, "created in the image of God." Not all Christians agree on what defined in Scripture but, probably includes ^{the} elements of reason and free will in man's nature. "Man's freedom that image of God is, some say his reason; others say his free will. But most would agree that is limited, but still real. Human history is ~~tragedy~~ in large part tragedy," ~~was~~ said Latourette, "and the reason is a gift of God, and perhaps a sharing of His mind, the gift of reason, and "a certain tragedy consists in man's abuse of his freedom." (p 263.

measure of his own free will (Latourette, in Amer. Hist. Rev., LIV, No. 2 (Jan 1949) p. 263

3. The interworkings of God's sovereignty and man's freedom. Where man's abuse of ^{his} freedom, and

God's sovereign power confront each other in history, the Christian sees the power of God manifested

in two different ways. in judgment and in mercy. ^{The history of God's mercy is salvation history, and often hidden,} But whether ~~the~~ judgment or ~~the~~ mercy, ^{but he is} ^{meaningful both} ^{is the part of} ^{the impact,} ^{and his mercy}

~~the final victory in history~~ and whether within time or beyond time as we know it, the final

end of history will be the victory of God.

is not limited to the work of salvation. It has created its concluding power in all of history

4. God's interventions in human history. "The distinctively Christian understanding of

history," says Latourette, "~~centers upon historical events~~ - and this is what marks it off

from all other philosophies of history, whether secular or religious - "centers upon ~~these~~ ^{the} historical occurrences"

There come to a focus

in the life of one person, Jesus "It has at its heart not a set of ideas from: the incarnation, the

crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. But ~~for~~ just as God was
 at work ^{in history} before the coming of Jesus, so he is still at work. The ^{mighty} ~~manifestations~~ of

God's power ~~did not end~~ with the New Testament. God's agent in post-New Testament

history is the Holy Spirit who ^{however} witnesses to Christ not to Himself, ^{(John 15:26).} and calls men into

the fellowship of the Church, of which Christ, not the Spirit, is the Head.

5. God's work.

Evidences of the Christian interpretation of history:

II. God in Post Biblical History

So also are faith & history inseparable. Is the secular historian has his own

III. God in History Post-Biblical History.

A. The God of the Bible is the God of Church History

The above summary contains the essence of the Christian view of history, which most church historians approach their task of interpreting the period from the last historical book in the Bible, the Acts of the Apostle, down to the present. Ever since Eusebius, the father of church history, they have

accepted as fact that the God of the Bible is the same God who is Sovereign in the history of His Church, for He is Lord of all history; And what secular historians, quite naturally, have accused the Christian of is prejudicial lack of objectivity, we can only reply:

We have already, why the objection to this intrusion of faith into historical science, they need only reply with Benedict Croce, (1871-1952) the Italian philosopher of history, and perhaps quite Benedict Croce, (1871-1952) the Italian philosopher of history, that there is no objective history, and that no possible line of demarcation can separate metaphysics from the recording of objective facts. "Philosophy," he said - and perhaps we can legitimately substitute the words faith or religion for "philosophy" there - Philosophy as a separate discipline is legitimated by being converted into history. The Christian could add that the reverse is also true. In the Christian view, history itself is the stuff from which faith is built. ^{faith and history being together, faith informs our interpretation, and history informs and corrects our faith.} ^{merges with} ^{Butlerfield}

(2) B. A Cautionary Warning: Beware of False Absolutes, and Dogmatic Identifications.

But here a word of caution is needed. Unlike Biblical scholars of the Old and New Testaments, whose splendid presentations began their series on "The Power of God in History", a church historian has to leave the shelter of a divinely inspired, and canonical interpretation of a particular section of Israel's ^{of our departed semi} ^{and canonical} ^{a particular section of} ~~for~~ ~~and~~ ~~said~~ and seek with his own all too fallible human judgment to discern where God is at work, and where, his work has been obstructed by rebellious, unbelieving man. It is comparatively easy to make the general observation, "God is at work in church history". It is quite another thing to pick and choose particulars out of the ever-changing rhythms

whether in the child or out of it
of man's life on earth, and point to this as that significant event, and say
with finality, "There is the hand of God at work." [Studying history, said

Sir Herbert Butterfield, "will not show you God in history if you ~~do~~ have not found

God in your heart"] ("God in History", Ch. 1, England Youth Council Newsletter, July 1952, ~~and~~ publ. in C.T. McIntire, ed. Herbert Butterfield Writings in Christianity and History, N.Y.: Oxford U.P., 1979, p. 12)

And even with God in your heart, it is dangerous to pretend
that Studying Church history can reveal as much of the power of evil, ~~as~~ unfortunately, as of
the power of God.

For example, can we list revivals as the work of God, and blame church
splits on the sins of Christians who should know better? ^{Some would} ~~Do we~~ trust ^{the} ~~our~~ interpretation
which is certainly partly true,
the other way, and rationalize church ~~split~~ schisms as God's way of purifying his church,
and still ~~others~~ see ~~some~~ ~~of~~ ~~sin~~ ~~as~~ are reluctant to see ~~work~~ ^{with} God at work even in revivals, ~~this is less surely less true,~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{distinctions}
while we ~~unconsciously~~ ~~and~~ ~~portray~~ ^{yet} revivals ~~as~~ ^{can be} temptations to ^{spiritual} pride and self-righteousness ~~on the part~~
and some ^{of them} may turn into
and ~~as~~ ~~human~~ ~~the~~ man-made manipulations of the human will, ~~usurping for the revivals what~~
~~what~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~left~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~work~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Spirit~~. Reinhold Niebuhr, in his Faith & History

has a useful chapter reminding us of the perplexities & complexities of even a Christian view of history;

He call his chapter ^{and} ~~It is a warning~~ ^{against} "False Absolutes in Christian Interpretation of History", ~~saying~~ ~~is~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~

~~and~~ ~~history~~ ~~of~~ ~~fanaticism~~ ~~in~~ ~~Christian~~ ~~civilization~~ ~~no~~ ~~version~~ No version of Christian history, he writes,

"has been completely immune to the error of claiming absolute and final significance for
contingent, partial, and parochial moral, political and cultural insights (p. 196).

As a case in point, I might suggest that you read and compare Catholic & Protestant
histories of the Reformation, particularly some of the older ones. We know Father Charles Dallot,

author of ~~Historie de l'Eglise de Corée~~ as the father of Korean Church History for his

"Historie de l'Eglise de Corée, which he ~~wrote~~ ^{finished} in 1874. Not so well known is the fact

that he ~~wrote~~ ^{had written} a Controversial Catechism of church history in India fifteen years earlier

(1859). Here are some sample quotations, to show how what to one church historian is a manifestation of the mighty power of God; to another seems rather ^(creed) the work of the devil. — I quote from Dallet.

Q. "What is Protestantism?" A. "... the symbol of the Protestant faith is... "I believe in nobody but myself, and I protest against the Catholic Church." (p. 14).

Q. "How was Protestantism first established?" A. Like all other past heresies, Protestantism used two ways to secure followers: corruption and violence." (p. 17)

Q. "What sort of men were the apostles of the new religion?" A. Apostate priests and dissolute monks, like Luther, Cranmer, Zwinglius..., scoundrels of the worst description like Calvin, Beza (and) Farel... (pp. 17 f.)

Q. "What says Luther himself...?" A. That he was inspired by the Devil." (p. 23)
(Ch. Dallet, Controversial Catechism or Short Answers to the Objections of the Protestants Against the True Religion, 5th ed. (Bangalore: Spectator Press, 1894).

Let that be a lesson to us of the danger of ~~the~~ Father Dallet was not a bad man, he sincerely believed that ~~As I say, because of false absolute.~~ To the good but choleric Father Dallet, Luther was wrong, and was carried away by his own prejudice. ~~So when we, if we, as the other had as we must,~~ ^{So when we,} see the ^{mighty} hand of God at

work in Luther, let us at the same time acknowledge that ~~errors will creep into~~ our

own interpretations, ~~will not always~~ ^{let us be with;} be free from error, and ^{admit that not only} Luther,

~~but~~ even Calvin (I speak as a Presbyterian) ^{were} did not always perfectly express God's instruments

of the power of God in history. ~~Because of let us beware of false absolute.~~

③ ^{Narrations}

~~But~~ God did use them, and use them mightily, despite all the difficulties

and dangers of mis-simplification, and with full acknowledgment of the Christian's complete fallibility and

prone to error, if the historian is a Christian, there is no possible way for him to avoid

recognition of the evidence of the mighty hand of God in history.

In conclusion

Western church history, ^{shows us} ~~to Protestants at least~~, sees a pattern of God's mercy and judgment emerge ^{in history} from alternating periods of rise and decline of civilizations at three levels in history; ① the rise and fall of nations or civilizations, ② the rise and decline in the church, and ③ the influence for good or for evil of great personalities. In mercy, he allows the rise to power; in judgment he reduces the proud.

Eusebius of "Imperial Chh History"

At its simplest, the earliest chh histories, Eusebius, Sozomen, Sozomen - ~~gradually remembering~~ remembering the striking assertions of God's sovereignty over the rise and fall of nations - Assyria, Israel, Assyria, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia - saw parallels in the rise of Rome. ^{Even earlier, though it was difficult for him to see persecution & see such good as} Origen, ~~as early as the 2nd c. about the fact he was~~ long after ~~the year~~ 220 or 230 AD ~~concluded~~ concluded that God had used Rome - the Roman peace, the Roman system of highways, - as a preparatio evangelium, of a preparation for the coming of Christ and the spread of the gospel. But Origen died in the great persecution of 250 AD, and it was not easy for Christians under torture to see the hand of God in Roman imperialism. ^{however,} But with the conversion of Constantine, in the 4th c., the picture changed. Eusebius the father of chh history, ^{bracket} the so-called "imperial theology" of the age of Constantine directly into his interpretation of history. "Imperial theology" glorified the ^{Christian} emperor ^{as the} ~~not~~ direct agent of the Lord. ^{The Emperor} ~~As such it allowed him~~ to call chh councils, to intervene in chh disputes and eventually even in the election of popes. ^{Empire and chh, to Eusebius, were both ordained by God for the} ~~to Eusebius, and a long line of chh historians who followed~~

salvation of mankind. In his life of Constantine (Laus Constantini), Eusebius carries his praise of the Christian emperor, ^{entirely too far} and comes perilously close to identifying the Roman State, now a Christian state, as the Kingdom of God. The Eastern Church (Orthodox) following Eusebius ~~even~~ has even made Constantine a saint, and given him the title "Equal of the Apostles" (Ισαποστόλος). ~~His tendency to~~

Augustine

Eusebius was quite right to see the hand of God at work in the conversion of the Emperor, ~~and of his Emperor. Only 2 1/2 generations after the Emperor he died of the plague in Rome.~~ But history has a way of confounding ~~even~~ its best interpreter. ^{Only 2 1/2 generations after the death of the Emperor who made Rome Christian, the Rome fell & the barbarians.} A hundred years after ~~Eusebius~~ ^{and} ~~a far~~ ^{than Eusebius} greater philosopher of history, ~~the greatest of all in~~

~~fact,~~ St. Augustine, faced the difficult task of explaining why, if Christian Rome was a manifestation of the power of God, it was falling to pieces before the shocked eyes of the Christian world. ~~Augustine wrote his great book, The City of God, about three years after the sack of Rome by the~~ ^{Augustine rescued} the Christian interpretation of history ~~from the over-simplifications of Eusebius and his "imperial theology."~~

let the pagans ^{tie} ~~to~~ earthly prosperity to the worship of their gods, he ^{in effect,} ~~wrote,~~ but that is not the Christian way. ~~It is superstition.~~ let the pagans say that Rome fell because it turned away from its own gods, to the Christian God. Not so. Rome fell because of its own sins and

injustices. So let Christians beware of loose thinking about "Christian" Rome, or a "Christian" state, ^{He ~~and~~ ~~with~~ ~~seem~~ ~~the~~ ~~easy~~ ~~identification~~ ~~of~~ ~~Roman~~ ~~benefits~~ ~~with~~ ~~God's~~ ~~blessings~~ .} Christians credit Rome with the Roman peace as a preparation of the gospel. Good. But there is a difference between Roman peace and God's peace, - and he ~~quotes~~ lists the oppressions and cruelties and war of Rome, quoting ~~with approval~~ ^{one of the} the remark of ~~a~~ Congrad, a Briton,

"The Romans make a desert and call it peace". (quoted by R. Bainton, Christianism, A Short Hist. of Xty and its Impact on Western Civilization, vol. I (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1966) p. 127.

In short, he refuses to deify the state, ~~any~~ ~~state~~, ~~even~~ ~~one~~ ~~that~~ ~~calls~~ ~~itself~~ ~~Christian~~. For there are two cities, he says, the City of ~~God~~ ^{earth} ("the Church") which may fall, [and which is no more moral when rising than when falling (as Bainton observes, p. 128)] and the City of God (the Chh) which endures forever. The most famous passage of the book describes

Pantus OROSIVS (d. after 417)

Augustine's ~~carefully~~ ~~balanced~~, ~~theological~~ ~~insights~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~complexity~~ ~~of~~ ~~history~~ ~~as~~ ~~it~~ ~~really~~ ~~is~~, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~propensity~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~ways~~ ~~of~~ ~~God~~ ~~in~~ ~~history~~, ~~have~~ ~~still~~ ~~affected~~ ~~the~~ ~~writing~~ ~~of~~ ~~church~~ ~~history~~. ^{them thus} (bk. 14, Chap. 28).

~~complexity of history as it really is, and the propensity of the ways of God in history, have still affected the writing of church history.~~ ^{his recognition of} ^{abiding} ~~the~~ ~~propensity~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~ways~~ ~~of~~ ~~God~~ ~~in~~ ~~history~~.

Unfortunately, ~~at~~ for the first thousand years and more after Augustine, it was ~~his~~ ^{a church history written by his} disciple, Orosius, ^{not the masters, who most influenced} ~~the~~ ~~medieval~~ ~~Christian~~ ~~interpretation~~. ^{Augustine mapped out his overall} ^{view of history, but left to Orosius the lesser task, as he considered it} ^{of sorting out the facts of history to support it.} ^{Orosius dutifully} ^{his ~~overall~~ ~~view~~} ^{has been an ~~intellectual~~ ~~meat~~ ~~of~~ ~~seems~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~teacher~~ ~~Scamler's~~ ~~Sons~~ ~~1964~~ ~~p.~~ ~~281~~} ^{N.Y. World History, b. H.H. Hopkins, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964, p. 281} ^{Augustine's work says A.T. van Leeuwen in Xty in World History} ^{How much of the ~~medieval~~ ~~interpretation~~ stemmed from Orosius?}

view of history, but left to Orosius the lesser task, as he considered it of sorting out the facts of history to support it. Orosius dutifully

The pattern of thinking ~~concerning~~ ~~history~~ of the ~~Reformation~~ Reformation is not
noticeably different

Seven Books 4

wrote ~~the~~ a history of the church, [^] History against the Pagans, which became the chief history textbook of the middle ages. But his was a shallower mind than Augustine,

He deserted ^{Augustine's deep theological insight} ~~the~~ careful balance of the City of God ^{which never completely identified the City of God with the organized church, nor the city of earth} and Augustine's theological ^{with the idea of after all Rome had been a}

~~insights into the complexity of history as it really is~~, in a return to what we might call the simple tit-for-tat school of history; ^{more like Eusebius,} that is, God rewards the good and punishes the bad in history; Christian nations rise and pagan nations fall.

To do this, ^{Orsin} he had to make Christian Rome in the 5th c. look bad, which was easy and true enough, but he also had to make the barbarians look good, which was not so easy, and not so true. But in ~~the~~ all things the Middle Ages, ~~this was the accepted~~ was the prevailing view. And at times it almost ~~seemed to~~ ^{behind} ~~work~~. Rome had become corrupt and weak, and ^{it} fell; the barbarians soon became Christian and the rise of the West began.

More recently, We can find the same simplistic pattern in some more recent Protestant interpretations of history. The Catholic nations of southern Europe, it is pointed out became corrupt; ~~The~~ Northern Europe turned Protestant, and by the rewarding Providence of God, it was ^{to} the northern Europe that the industrial revolution brought economic prosperity and scientific progress, while the south lapsed into poverty, civil chaos and ignorance.



So also with some interpretations of the modern missionary movement of the 19th century. ~~Some historians, and some missionaries, seemed to imply that~~ Out of the west, civilized by the Christian faith and therefore materially, blessed and politically powerful, some ~~powerful~~ historians seemed to imply, came the missionary to offer to lesser developed parts of the world, the same opportunities for advancement in this world which God had graciously granted to the western, Christian world. Even so wise an observer ~~and~~ leader of the missionary movement, Robert E. Speer, could write in 1902, with the patronizing condescension of his age, "No other movement has accomplished anything like the proportionate results effected by missions in pacifying and civilizing the lower races" (R.E. Speer, *Missionary Principles & Practice*, (N.Y.: Fleming H. Revell, 1902, p. 412)

and goes on to list ^{on} ^{after page} pages of the social, civilizing contributions of Christianity. I detect something of the Isaac brain, rather than ^{the} Augustinian interpretation of how God manifests ~~his~~ his power in history, ~~even of course in~~ ^{in this} some American ^{it is like} boasts of their "Christian nation, the United States", but ^{and} also even here in Korea, if I ~~may~~ you will forgive

me for a moment. I have heard comparisons of Israel & Korea, implying that ~~if~~ as if Korea ^{will only continue to} turns to God ~~as~~ in ^{which we are seeing about us here,} ~~the~~ great explosion of church growth, it will be blessed, ^{of} ~~not only~~ ^{become} ~~spiritually~~ but materially. ~~It will become a power in Asia as the~~ ^{As Israel changed the history of the world, so also Korea.} ~~As Israel changed the history of the world, so also Korea.~~ ^{and} not only ^{for the} in mission but also in international leadership toward a New Asia. ^{not all} Now that is ^{not bad.} ~~good so far~~ ^{at a point.} I agree with ~~John R. Platt~~ it to this extent, that

True but that may be apart from population pressure in lower races.

as John R. Mott once wrote, "If the Christian faith were wiped out all over the world, in every nation, but survived in Korea, there is enough stability ~~to~~ in the Korean church to carry it again to the ends of the earth." But I begin to disagree when some go on to include material blessings

Perhaps, in conclusion, ~~it~~ better than to try to pinpoint historically the
 manifestation of the power of God, ^{outside of biblical history, whether} in the lives of individuals ^{where for the time} whose hearts are
 hidden from mortal view and, spiritual power is intangible - or in the rise and
^{returns of} ~~and~~ fall of civilizations where the purposes of God are subject to differing interpretations - or in the ^{lines}
 even ^{where} in the decline and reform of the church, ^{the emphasis often for focuses} which normally focuses on organization
^{an exercise of} and power ~~not always~~ that is not always God-directed - rather, than pursue such
 patterns, it may be sufficient to try to discern some turning points in ^{the vast scope of last 2000 years of} the history
 history where ~~the presence of church of the world have both~~ ~~in the case of God's~~ been
 sharply turned for better or for worse to new directions. ~~To the At such pts.~~ Christian and non-Christian
 historians alike can detect these hinges of history. Perhaps only the Christian will see ^{them} in ~~the hinges of history~~
~~the~~ the mighty manifestations of the power of God, but ^{both} Christian and non-Christian alike will
 agree that ^{here and} ~~here and~~ ^{significantly} there, the course of history was changed. It was for just such a new
 insight, ~~It was Prof. Lattimore~~ ~~The practice of~~ ~~It was not checked~~ ~~historians, but~~

In this, ~~the field of~~
 The most famous best known, & most comprehensive attempt to discern the ~~sub~~
 ebb and flow of such ^{and} ~~describe such a~~ Christian pattern in history is that in ^{Prof} Kenneth Scott Lattimore's History of
 the Expansion of Christianity. He charts ^{expansion} withouts a rhythm of advance and decline measured ^{only by geographic extent like} ~~by~~ not ~~only~~ by geographical extent
 for numerical factors ~~and~~ ~~increase only~~ but ^{considers a wide range of other factors as well, such as} also by Christianity's internal vitality, & its
 external effect on the ^{environment} ~~historical context~~, & in turn, the environment's effect on the chh.

he divided the 2000 years into ^{his outline is now familiar:} ~~er~~ ^{periods.} ~~He~~ ^{breaks} from the ^{static} ~~static~~ ^{division} of chh history into ^{ancient, Medieval & Modern} ~~ancient, Medieval & Modern~~ ^{periods}

- I. Five hundred years of advance (1-500) The ^{first} ~~first~~ ^{advance}. Xty Wins the Roman World.
- II. Four hundred and fifty years of recession (500-950). The ^{first} ~~first~~ ^{great} ~~great~~ ^{Recession}; Barbarian ^{invasions in the West}; the ^{fall} ~~fall~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{Rome}; ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{Islam}.
- III. Two hundred years of ^{second} ~~second~~ ^{advance}; ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{conversion} ~~conversion ^{of} ~~of ^{Europe} & the ^{rise} ~~rise ^{of} ~~of ^{the} ~~the ^{West}.~~~~~~~~~~
- ~~IV~~ ^{Then two periods of about 150 years each: -}
- IV The Second Recession (1350-1500), the ^{waning} ~~waning~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{Middle} ~~Middle~~ ^{Ages}~~
- V The Third Advance (1500-1750), Reformation & Counter Reformation
- VI The Third ^{and} ~~and ^{recession} (1750-1815): The ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of ^{secularism}, & ^{fall} ~~fall~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{Catholic} ~~Catholic~~ ^{Europe} ^{but an evangelical awakening in Protestantism, which led to -}~~~~
- VII. The ^{great} ~~great~~ ^{Century}: ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Modern} ~~Modern ^{Moving} ~~Moving~~ ^{Moment}.~~
- VIII. And finally, of course, the present: "Advance After Storm", he calls it -

~~There are other ways~~

There are other ways to follow the head of God in chh history. As in

Biblical history he worked in a special way ^{with} ~~with~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{people} ~~people~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{Abraham} ~~Abraham~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{pastoral} ~~pastoral~~ ^{age}; Moses & ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Israelites} ~~Israelites; Jeremiah & the ^{age} ~~age~~ ^{of} ~~of ^{captivity} ~~captivity; ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{return} ~~return ^{from} ~~from ^{exile} ~~exile ^{with} ~~with ^{Ezra} ~~Ezra ^{Nehemiah} ~~Nehemiah, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the ^{great} ~~great ^{climax} ~~climax~~ ^{of} ~~of ^{the} ~~the ^{incarnation} ~~incarnation~~; so the line of history ^{can} ~~can~~ ^{be} ~~be ^{seen} ~~seen~~ ^{to} ~~to ^{continue} ~~continue~~ ^{for} ~~for~~ ^{those} ~~those ^{with} ~~with ^{eyes} ~~eyes ^{to} ~~to ^{see} ~~see~~

after Christ, ^{with} ~~with ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{age} ~~age ^{of} ~~of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Spirit} ~~Spirit~~ ^{of} ~~of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Church} ~~Church~~. ^{He} ~~He~~ ^{can} ~~can ^{be} ~~be ^{seen} ~~seen~~ ^{at} ~~at ^{work} ~~work~~, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{west} ~~west ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{conversion} ~~conversion ^{of} ~~of ^{Constantine} ~~Constantine, ⁱⁿ ~~in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{preservation} ~~preservation ^{of} ~~of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Church} ~~Church~~, ⁱⁿ ~~in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{reform} ~~reform~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{papacy} ~~papacy~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{west} ~~west, ⁱⁿ ~~in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{monasticism} ~~monasticism~~; ⁱⁿ ~~in ^{Charlemagne} ~~Charlemagne, ⁱⁿ ~~in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{conversion} ~~conversion ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{northern} ~~northern~~ ^{Europe} ~~Europe, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{reforms} ~~reforms ^{of} ~~of ^{Cluny} ~~Cluny ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{monastic} ~~monastic ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~new ^{missionary} ~~missionary ^{orders} ~~orders~~, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rise} ~~rise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~

The Continuing Manifestations of the Power of God in Church History
 - Samuel Hays Moffett (1981)
 (Outline, with some names & books referred to)

I. Is God in History? Some Secular Views/Interpretations of History.

(Cf. David Bebbington, Patterns of Church History: A Christian View, 1979)

1. The cyclical view. Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, 11 vols. (1934-59)
 Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return (1955)
 John T. Marcus, "Time and the Sense of History: East and West", in Comparative Studies in Society & History, vol 3 (1961) (China & India ^{views})
2. The progressive view
 Lionel Kochan, Action in History (1954) (About God Action)
 J. B. Bury, The Idea of Progress (1920) (A critique)
 Reinhold Niebuhr Selected Essays, ed by H. Temperley, 1930, "Cleopatra"
3. The historicist view
 J. G. von Herder, Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind (1784-91)
 Leopold von Ranke, The Theory and Practice of History (ed. 1973 by G. G. Iggers)
4. Marxist group v. Plekhanov The Development of the Marxist View of History (1895)

II A Christian View of History.

1. Growing recognition of a Christian alternative to secular interpretations

Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The Christian Understanding of History" in American Historical Review, 1949.

Herbert Butterfield: Writing on Christianity & History, ed by C. T. McIntire, 1979

Christianity and History, 1949

J. B. Bury, "Cleopatra's Nose", 1903 (in Selected Essays, ed by H. Temperley, 1930 (critic of Bury))

2. The basic Christian ~~interpret~~ convictions about history

- a. Creation and providence.
- b. Man's free will.
- c. The interworkings of God's sovereignty & man's freedom
- d. God's intervention in human history
- e. The end of history, God's victory.

III. 3. God in Post-Biblical History

a. The God of the Bible is the God of Church History

b. A cautionary warning: beware of false absolutes, ^{single patterns} and dogmatic identifications

Reinhold Niebuhr, Faith in History, 1949.

Charles Pallet, A Christian's Catechism, 1889 (in Théologie de l'Église de France 1890)

c. Augustine, "the father of church history" at his "imperial theology". Ecclesiastical History, 324 AD

d. Augustine, "the father of Christian philosophy of history" Concerning the City of God against the Pagans 426 AD

IV. Conclusion: Church History - Patterns of Church History - Augustine the Pagan, c. 427 AD - K.S. Latourette, A Short History of the Empire - 15 vols. 1937-45.

Intro

SCHOOL OF WORLD MISSION
MS51/651 The Historical Development of the Christian Movement
Arthur F. Glasser/ Charles J. Mellis

Summer, 1977

DESCRIPTION:

The purpose of this course is the missiological reinterpretation of the development of the Christian movement, and the application of such insights to present strategies of mission. For example, the mechanisms of conversion and renewal in the history of Europe are seen as important as the theological content of those processes. Or, the phenomenon of the Reformation is seen as more than a rediscovery of biblical truth but also as a nationalizing and indigenizing process in an area that was never very profoundly Latinized.

The course does not directly require the loading up of the memory with dates, names, places, etc., but it is more concerned with understanding the dynamic processes due to which the Christian movement has grown, expanded, faltered and flourished.

FORMAT:

There will be 2 lectures per day. The 3-hour class period will be divided into two equal periods with a 15 minute break between them. This allows approximately 30 minutes per period for discussion. Most of this time will be given to discussing the previous lecture(s), after you have had time to reflect on both lecture material and the follow-up reading.

ASSIGNMENTS:

1. Response Papers (30%). These written responses to the oral and written material must be turned in at the beginning of each class period after the first (9 total). These need not be organized papers, and they should not be lengthy (a half page will do--one page is the limit). Simply jot down whatever surprises, puzzles, pleases, concerns you, representing your honest reaction to class topics, assigned reading, supplementary study and reflection.

2. Term Project (40%). This is where your own reflection on a particular subject is demonstrated. Ideas and points of view contrary to those presented by the professors are quite welcome, especially if they are well defended. About thirty hours are to be invested in this activity. The results should reflect that amount of time whether few or many pages are employed. Sample topics are suggested. (Use the Missiology format.) You will find below sample topics which you might like to consider. Be sure you know what has already been written on the subject by former associates and stand on their shoulders, rather than going over the same material they covered. While you should choose a topic of interest and value to you and your ministry, your development of this should qualify as a contribution to missiological knowledge.

Due: Noon, Monday, Sept. 26 (SWM office).

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
Glasser/Moffett

Outline and Main Chronological Divisions

There is no single satisfactory way to divide the history of the development of the church into neat regular time periods. There are too many currents and counter-currents to fit a systematic pattern. You should be familiar, however, with some of the better known attempts.

The most familiar pattern divides church history into three periods: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. But there is no agreement as to when one ends and the next begins:

Ancient is variously dated up to Constantine (300 AD) or as late as the conversion of northern Europe beginning in 700 AD.

Mediaeval, therefore, begins either in 300 or 700 AD, but by common consent ends with the Reformation, 1500 AD.

Modern, however, sometimes excludes the Reformation (which is put in a separate period by itself) and may begin as late as 1650 to 1750, (the "Enlightenment" and Deism)

Our own course outline follows the practice of Dr. Ralph Winter who conveniently divides the development of the church into periods of 400 years each:

- I. Encounter with the Roman Empire; Rapid expansion (30-400 AD)
- II. Encounter with Barbarians and Muslims; Structures of mission and the rise of Monasticism (400-800 AD)
- III. Encounter with the Viking World; Irregular expansion (800-1200 AD) with special lecture on the Celtic church.
- IV. Upheaval in Western Europe, and the Reformation (1200-1700)
- V. Encounter with the Non-Western World (1600-2000 AD)

Our major textbook, however, Stephen Neill's A History of Christian Missions separates church history up to 1500 AD into periods of roughly 500 years each:

- I. The Conquest of the Roman World (100-500 AD)
 - II. The Dark Age (500-1000 AD)
 - III. Early European Expansion (1000-1500)
- And shorter, irregular periods thereafter.

Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette's classic division of the History of the Expansion of Christianity is still permanently valuable. He charts the history of the church in terms of waves of advance and recession:

- I. The First Advance: Christianity Wins the Roman World (1-500)
- II. The Great Recession: Barbarians and Muslims (500-950)
- III. The Rising Tide in the West: Second Advance by Roman Catholics, Nestorians and Orthodox (950-1350)
- IV. The Second Recession: Fall of Mongols, Rise of Turks, Decline of the Papacy (1350-1500).
- V. Three Centuries of Advance: Reformation and Counter-reformation (1500-1750)
- VI. The Third Recession and Signs of Revival (1750-1815)
- VII. The Great Century: the Modern Missionary Movement (1815-1914)
- VIII. The Present (1914--)

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY

Samuel H. Moffett

I. Introduction: A Chronology of Missions

Let me begin this course on Missiology, the science of missions, with an introductory outline of the history of missions to give you some historical hooks in chronological sequence on which you may hang the mass of facts and theories on which the science of missions is based. The classic outline of missions history is that given by Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale in his massive, seven-volume History of the Expansion of Christianity. It divides the history of missions into eight major periods from the time of the apostles down to the end of World War II in 1945.

I. The First Advance (1 - 500 A.D.)

"The first great geographic triumph of Christianity," writes Dr. Latourette, "was ~~the~~ the winning of the cultural area into which it was born, the Mediterranean world" of the Roman Empire. It sub-divides into two sections:

- A. 1-313 A.D. The Winning of Freedom for the Faith.
- B. 313-529 A.D. The Completion of the Conversion of the Empire.

II. The Great Recession (500 - 950 A.D.)

Although in this period there were great missionary successes, notably the extension of the faith in Western and Northern Europe from England to Scandinavia, and the remarkable missions of the Nestorians across Asia as far as China, nevertheless two decisive factors made it a period of net loss for the faith rather than gain. These two were the fall of the Roman Empire, and the rise and spread of Islam. The number of people in Europe that entered the church between the years 500 and 1000 (some would say 1500), was equalled by the number lost to Christianity in Africa and Asia during the same period. (Freitag, 20th C. Atlas of Christian World, p. 60)

III. The Second Advance (950-1350 A.D.)

The tenth century saw a revival of Roman Catholic zeal and missionary outreach, particularly through the reforms and disciplines of the monastic movement. The Nestorians in this same period showed promise of winning the Mongol Empire to the faith, and the Eastern Orthodox church made great advances in winning Russia to Christianity.

IV. The Second Recession (1350-1500 A.D.)

The dark ages immediately preceding the Reformation brought a period of decline to Christian missions not only in Roman Catholicism, but also in Eastern Orthodoxy and Asian Nestorianism. The decline and corruption of the papacy weakened Catholicism at its heart; the rise of

the Turks and the fall of Constantinople seemed almost fatal to Eastern Orthodoxy and reversed the momentum of expansion from the forward though misguided pressure of the Crusades to decline and defeat. Even the Mongol Empire, never won by the Nestorians but always friendly, fell and Nestorianism virtually vanished with it.

V. Advance in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (1500-1700 A.D.)

Though the Reformation Protestants achieved little in the way of geographic expansion in this period, they laid the spiritual foundations of the great Protestant achievements of the next period. Most of the expansion in the period was Roman Catholic missionary movement into Asia and the Americas, taking advantage of Spanish and Portuguese leadership in the Age of Discovery. Protestants to a lesser extent followed the Dutch into southern and southeast Asia, and the British into North America.

VI. The Pause (1700-1800)

Political and intellectual revolution checked the spread of Christianity in the 18th century. The fall of Spain and the interdiction of ~~the~~ the Jesuits, as well as the French Revolution all combined to check the zeal and effectiveness of Roman Catholicism for outreach. The rise ~~and~~ of rationalism in the so-called Age of Enlightenment dulled the edge of Protestant enthusiasm for mission.

VII. The Great Century (1800-1914)

The modern missionary movement, which begins roughly in ~~the~~ the last decade of the 18th century with William Carey, ushered in what Latourette calls "the great century" of Christian expansion. "The outpouring of missionary life," he says, "was amazing". "Never before in a period of equal length had Christianity or any other religion penetrated for the first time as large an area as it had in the nineteenth century." (Latourette, vol. V, p. 463 f.) Three of his seven volumes of missions history are devoted to the 19th century, and he concludes, "Never had the faith won adherents among so many peoples and in so many countries. Never had it exerted so wide an influence upon the human race. Measured by geographic extent and the effect upon mankind as a whole, the nineteenth century was the greatest century thus far in the history of Christinity." (Vol. VI, p. 442).

VIII. Advance through Storm (1914-1945)

Beginning with World War I, the Christian faith suffered a series of world-shaking shocks that might well have been expected to bring in another period of recession, but in his final volume Latourette assesses the period from 1914 to 1945 as a period of lessening advance, but advance nevertheless. He sees hope in signs of a possible shift from a narrow-based Western Christian mission to a world-based world mission. In this period the percentage of non-Westerners in the Christian church doubled.

IX. The 25 Unbelievable Years (1945-1970)

Dr. Ralph Winter of Fuller Theological Seminary has added a sequel to Latourette's chart of Christian expansion, and closes this chronological survey on a note of rising hope. The Christian church is still advancing and expanding. (Korean translation 선교의 분기)

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
Glässer/Moffett

Outline and Main Chronological Divisions

There is no single satisfactory way to divide the history of the development of the church into neat regular time periods. There are too many currents and counter-currents to fit a systematic pattern. You should be familiar, however, with some of the better known attempts.

The most familiar pattern divides church history into three periods: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. But there is no agreement as to when one ends and the next begins:

Ancient is variously dated up to Constantine (300 AD) or as late as the conversion of northern Europe beginning in 700 AD.

Mediaeval, therefore, begins either in 300 or 700 AD, but by common consent ends with the Reformation, 1500 AD.

Modern, however, sometimes excludes the Reformation (which is put in a separate period by itself) and may begin as late as 1650 to 1750, (the "Enlightenment" and Deism)

Our own course outline follows the practice of Dr. Ralph Winter who conveniently divides the development of the church into periods of 400 years each:

- I. Encounter with the Roman Empire; Rapid expansion (30-400 AD)
- II. Encounter with Barbarians and Muslims; Structures of mission and the rise of Monasticism (400-800 AD)
- III. Encounter with the Viking World; Irregular expansion (800-1200 AD) with special lecture on the Celtic church.
- IV. Upheaval in Western Europe, and the Reformation (1200-1700)
- V. Encounter with the Non-Western World (1600-2000 AD)

Our major textbook, however, Stephen Neill's A History of Christian Missions separates church history up to 1500 AD into periods of roughly 500 years each:

- I. The Conquest of the Roman World (100-500 AD)
 - II. The Dark Age (500-1000 AD)
 - III. Early European Expansion (1000-1500)
- And shorter, irregular periods thereafter.

Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette's classic division of the History of the Expansion of Christianity is still permanently valuable. He charts the history of the church in terms of waves of advance and recession:

- I. The First Advance: Christianity Wins the Roman World (1-500)
- II. The Great Recession: Barbarians and Muslims (500-950)
- III. The Rising Tide in the West: Second Advance by Roman Catholics, Nestorians and Orthodox (950-1350)
- IV. The Second Recession: Fall of Mongols, Rise of Turks, Decline of the Papacy (1350-1500).
- V. Three Centuries of Advance: Reformation and Counter-reformation (1500-1750)
- VI. The Third Recession and Signs of Revival (1750-1815)
- VII. The Great Century: the Modern Missionary Movement (1815-1914)
- VIII. The Present (1914--)

I. The First Advance. (1-400 A.D.) Christianity Wins the Roman Empire.

"The first great geographic triumph of Christianity," writes Dr. Latourette (Expansion I, p. 66), "was the winning of the cultural area into which it was born, the Mediterranean world" of the Roman Empire. It took five centuries, a period which may be roughly dated from 1 to 500 A.D. Latourette suggests that a more precise date for the end of the period might be 529 A.D., the year in which the Emperor Justinian I closed the ancient schools of philosophy at Athens, an act symbolic of the end of public acceptance of Christianity's greatest intellectual rival, Greek philosophy. We will say 400.

If it took 400 years for Christianity to win the Mediterranean world, it should not be discouraging to modern Asian Protestants that after only two hundred years of the modern missionary movement, Asia is still the least Christian of continents. Thus history teaches that continental mission strategists must plan in centuries, not merely in years or in decades.

This first great period of Christian expansion, from 1 to 400 A.D. is divided into two stages at the year 313 A.D., the date of the Emperor Constantine's famous Edict of Toleration of Christianity, as follows:

- A. 1-313 A.D. The Winning of Freedom for the Faith
- B. 313-529 A.D. The Completion of Conversion of the Empire.

Converts

A. Christianity ~~Wins~~ the Heart of the Roman Empire and Wins ~~its~~ its Freedom (1-313 A.D.)

The first three hundred years of Christian expansion may be further subdivided into three sections:

- 1. The Jewish period. (to 100 A.D.)
- 2. The Greek period. (100 to 200 A.D.)
- 3. The Latin period. (200 to 300 A.D.)

1. The Jewish period (1-100 A.D.). The first generation after Jesus: the Apostolic Age.

The first circle of expansion of the Christian faith centered in Jerusalem and was principally among Jews, or ~~at~~ ~~xxxx~~ Gentiles who had contact with Judaism. It did not begin as a separatist movement from Judaism. The main preaching points of the first missionaries were the Jewish synagogues. But beginning with Stephen and Paul the new faith soon ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ began to emphasize differences from traditional Judaism, attracting notice as more than another Judaic school, in fact, a new gospel larger and more universal than nationalistic Judaism. Its first martyr was Stephen, who preached that Jesus would "change the customs" which the Jews had received from Moses. (Acts 6:14). Its greatest missionary was Paul, who at Athens, for example, spoke not to Jews in the synagogue, but to the Greek philosophers on Mars Hill. His Epistle to the Romans, now usually read as a repository of systematic theology, is actually the first book on a theology

1-400 A.D.

of missions, reminding Jews of God's larger purposes, the salvation of the Gentiles, and reminding Gentiles of their roots in Israel in the faith, and calling both to missionary evangelism (Romans 15).

Paul's mission centered about the great cities of his day. It began in Antioch which was probably the first large city of that ancient world to become a Christian city. From here he set out to evangelize the great strategic centers of Empire, the cities, where Roman government, Greek culture and Jewish trade and religion met, and which could become the radiating centers of evangelistic outreach. A famous book by an Anglican missionary to China, Roland Allen's Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?, was published in 1912 to challenge the modern missionary movement to return to Paul's Biblical strategy of mission, for the twentieth century, like the first, has become again a civilization of great cities. (See Christianity Today, Aug. 1, 1960, pp. 5, 13 f.) Allen wrote, "In a little less than ten years St. Paul established the Church in four provinces of the Empire, Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia and Asia. Before 47 A.D. there were no churches in these provinces; in 57 A.D. St. Paul could speak as if his work there were done." The secret was his skillful choice of strategic centers: Ephesus in Asia, Philippi in Macedonia, Corinth in Greece, and Rome. What are the key cities in today's world?

Other important factors in Paul's missionary strategy were: 1. Reliance on the Holy Spirit, not on the cooperation of governments; 2. Reliance on local self-support, not on foreign money; and 3. Reliance on voluntary evangelism by Christians, not by paid, professional missionaries or ministers.

2. The Greek Period (100 - 200 A.D.)

After about 100 A.D. the center of the Christian mission followed the lead of the Apostle Paul and shifted from the Jewish to the Greek world. The hope of converting the Jews as a nation faded. Christianity lost its identification with the Jews, and in so doing became exposed to persecution, for only the Jews had been granted the right of exception from worship of the Emperor. But despite persecution, the faith spread rapidly, particularly in the cities. It was becoming an urban, Hellenistic phenomenon. By 180 A.D. the records show that Christianity had penetrated all the provinces of the Roman Empire, and had even begun to move across the borders of Rome into Asian Mesopotamia. (Latourette, ibid, p. 85).

3. The Latin Period (200 - 300 A.D.)

But the greatest period in this first age of expansion was the century and a quarter between the death of Marcus Aurelius and the conversion of Constantine (180 to 311 A.D.) By the end of this period, progressing and growing through all the great Roman persecutions, the Christian faith had won its footholds from the Persian Empire in Asia, to Ethiopia in Africa, and to the far edges of

(- 400 A.D.)

Europe in the remote island of Britain. Its character had also changed. By about 250 A.D. the Roman clergy had become predominantly Latin. In earlier periods the New Testament, for example, was written in Greek, and in the East as the Eastern Empire grew up around Constantinople, the church's ~~Latin~~ language remained Greek, but by the third century the language of the church in the West was Latin (Latourette, I, p. 95).

~~Two~~ of the great missionaries of this period should be remembered. Both are named Gregory. ^(b 270, d 332)

1. Gregory the Illuminator, the Apostle of Armenia. About 300 A.D. Armenia became the first sizeable country in the world to become Christian. Gregory was of the Armenian nobility, related to the royal family. When Armenia was captured for a time by Persia, he fled into Roman territory where he was converted. When his country was liberated, he returned and was asked to help restore the national religion of the goddess Anahit, which had been proscribed by the Zoroastrian Persians. But Gregory, now a Christian refused, and was imprisoned and tortured. His courage under torture and his unceasing witness finally converted the King, Tiridates and the conversion of the country quickly followed. In one day, it is said, 150,000 of the king's troops, clothed in white robes, were baptized in the waters of the Euphrates River. (L.C. Barnes, 2000 Years of Missions Before Carey, p. 79 f.) Bishop Neill points out two significant strategic factors in the conversion of Armenia: 1. It is the "first clear case..in which the conversion of a king was the first step in the conversion of a whole country". (Abgar of Osrhoene is semi-legendary). 2. It was a thoroughly indigenous movement: Gregory preached in Armenian; in 406 the patriarch Mersob invented a new alphabet for the Armenian language and the New Testament translation into it was completed by 410. Race, language, culture, politics and the Christian religion became unseparably Armenian, giving the whole people an identity that not even the loss of their homeland has been able to take from them. The Armenian church survives as one of the most ancient in the world.

213
2. Gregory the Wonder-Worker (Thaumaturgus) (b. 312), the Apostle of Pontus, along the southern shore of the Black Sea. Converted by the great theologian Origen, he returned to Pontus and was made bishop. When he died 30 years later in 270 A.D., it was said that when he became bishop there were only 17 Christians in his diocese; when he died there were only 17 pagans there. (Lat. I, p. 89)

By the time Constantine finally recognized Christianity in 313 A.D. the faith was everywhere in the Empire, but it can hardly be called a mass movement. Probably not more than 15% of the Empire was Christian. (S. Neill, in Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission, "Expansion..", p. 201), which would

1-400 A.D.

be about the same proportion or a little larger as in South Korea today. The current estimate here, 1973, is about 13%, counting the marginal cults.

In some parts of the Empire, however, notably in the East, Christians may well have constitute an actual majority of the population by 300 A.D. Estimates, of course, vary widely. In Rome, for example, Latourette estimates there were 30,000 Christians by 250 A.D., based on deductions from a passage in Eusebius (Lat. I, p. 95, citing Eus. l.vi. c. 43); but Gibbon, the historian of the decline of Rome, using the same passage, estimated there were 50,000 Christians then in Rome (Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, p.542, chap. XV). As for the Empire as a whole, Gibbon says not more than a twentieth, or ~~2~~ 5% of the people were Christian, but another historian, Staudlin is quoted by Harnack as estimating that fully a half, 50%, of the Roman Empire was Christian by the time of Constantine. Harnack himself, in the classic history of the period, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (tr. J. Moffatt, vol. 2, pl 454) thinks that in the East the Christian population may well have been over 50%, but was considerably less in the West. At the least, he says, even by 250 A D. Christians must have numbered between three and four million, and perhaps much more. Latourette's final estimate of the Christian population of Constantinian Rome is between 1/20th and 1/8th of the total population, (Ibid, p. 108) which would be between 5% and 12%.

B. Christianity Completes the Conversions of Rome, and Spreads South and East, North and West. (313-430 AD)

This first period of Christian advance, continuing the winning of the Roman Empire, may be arbitrarily ended at 400 AD (as Winter dies), or in 430 (the death of Augustine), or in 529 (as in Latourette), the year in which Justinian closed the Schools of Philosophy in Athens. But however it is dated, the period ends with the Roman Empire permanently Christian, and the faith strongly expanding across northern Africa to the south, into Persia on the east, and up through Europe to the northwest.

1. The unity of the church. The church stemmed the growth of doctrinal deviations by erecting two great walls against heresy: canon and creed. The central unifying principle was the authority of Scripture. The Old Testament, of course, was always considered authoritative, or canonical. The oldest Christian sermon extant (called II Clement) adds the writings of the apostles to the status of "Scripture", about 150 AD., and at the same time the Gospels were read in Rome in worship along with the OT. By 200 the west had an accepted, canonical text of the New Testament, which reached its final form by 400 AD. The second wall was a recognized creed. In this period, the church not only completed the canon, but also began the process of agreeing on a systematic summary of the basic doctrines of Scripture. Constantine himself called the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325 AD) which adopted the Nicene Creed. Its main point was: Jesus is God. The Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople, in 381, added the equally important declaration: Jesus is Man. In Scripture and in the creeds, the church united.

A third center of church unity was its organization. By the time of Constantine, the form of that organization, which had grown up around the bishops, was changing. Traditionally four of the bishops had special authority: Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome and Alexandria. But Jerusalem had lost its importance, and Antioch was declining. Meanwhile, Constantine founded a new capital, and the bishop of Constantinople began to demand equal recognition in this period. Rome demanded even more.

2. The expansion of the church.

In the one hundred years or more after Constantine Christianity completed its conversion of the Roman empire, and reached out beyond the edge of empire into Africa, Asia and Europe, to Ethiopia, Persia and Britain.

Within the empire, from Alexandria as a base Christianity spread all across the coast of North Africa, and Egypt was almost solidly Christian by the end of the fifth century. Great names in African Christendom included Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria (328-373) and defender of the faith, and Augustine who was converted in 386 and became one of the four greatest theologians the church has ever produced (Paul, Augustine, Aquinas and Calvin).

Syria and Palestine, centering around Antioch and Jerusalem, found the conversion of the rural Semitic population very slow. But in eastern Europe, from Constantinople under the great preacher and patriarch Chrysostom, missionaries and monks spread the faith widely throughout Greece and particularly among the Gothic tribes on the border. "There would be no more heathen," said Chrysostom, "if we would be true Christians". But it was Rome which became the great center for the conversion of Europe. As late as the end of the 4th century the majority of the Roman senators were still pagan, but the decline of the empire turned people's eyes to the church as their chief strength in time of trouble. The greatest bishop of the period was Ambrose of Milan, and Rome's most famous missionary was Martin of Tours, born about 316 to a military family who carried the gospel as soldier, monk and missionary bishop far up into the French countryside, preaching, destroying temples and baptizing.

Outside the empire, also, the church began to move south and east and north. Fruventius, a castaway on the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea, preached to the emperor of Ethiopia at Axum, and in 341 journeyed to Alexandria to ask Patriarch Athanasius for missionaries. "Go back yourself," said Athanasius, and promptly consecrated him bishop of Ethiopia. On the northern edges of the eastern Roman Empire, Ulfilas, though somewhat heretical as a moderate Arian, was so successful in reaching the barbarian Goths for Christ that he was made their bishop in 341. His greatest achievement was to reduce the Gothic language to writing and translate the Bible into its alphabet,--the first or second instance of what became a great missionary pattern. But in the east, across the Roman border in Persia, the conversion of a Roman emperor brought persecution, not rejoicing, for Christians were immediately suspected of being Roman sympathizers. There, from 339 to 379, forty years of intense persecution brought missionary outreach to a standstill.

Nevertheless this was indeed the period of advance. In only a little more than four centuries the Christian church had been transformed from an obscure Jewish sect in a provincial corner of the empire into the unifying faith of the whole Roman world, and had begun to spread beyond its native Mediterranean culture north among the European barbarians, south into Africa, and east across the greatest continent of all, Asia.

What was the secret of its success. Latourette lists some of the reasons historians have given: 1. The favour of the emperor. But by the time Constantine became Christian, it was already so strong it would have won without him. 2. The disintegration of society. But why Christianity, then, instead of one of the other new faiths like Mithraism, which was so strong in the Roman army? 3. Strong church organization. But where did the church get the vitality for this kind of strength? 4. Its inclusiveness. Judaism was for Jews; Mithraism for men, but Christianity for all. But why? 5. The witness of the martyrs, and its moral character. But the Jews too had martyrs and high morals. 6. Miracles. But other faiths claimed miracles too.

The only satisfactory reason for the success of the Christian faith, concludes Latourette, is Christ. "Without Jesus Christianity would never have been, and from him came the distinctive qualities which won it the victory" (I, p. 108)

II. Encounter with Barbarians and Muslims: the Great Recession (400-800)

A. Why begin a new period with 400 AD? Three reasons:

1. A great cluster of significant events suggests that the period from 300 to 500, centering around 400 was the end of one era in church history and the beginning of a new one.

From 300 to 400: Conversion of Constantine and edict of toleration (311, 313); Eusebius and first church history (311-324); First ecumenical council, Nicaea (325); Persian persecutions (339-379); Ulfilas' mission to Goths (341); Conversion of St. Augustine (386)

From 400 to 500: Romans leave Britain (400); Pope Innocent I (402) Persian edict of toleration (409); First Nestorian council (410) Rome sacked by barbarians (410); Nestorius deposed (431); Patrick's mission to Ireland (432); 4th ecumenical council, Chalcedon (451); Monophysite, Syrian and Coptic, schism (458); Last Roman emperor in Rome (476); Nestorian seminary ejected from west to Persian east (489); Nestorian mission to Central Asia (497).

2. Beginning about 400 a sharp change occurs in church history. After its triumph over the Mediterranean world the church met two stunning reverses. The first was the invasion of the barbarians from northern Europe and western Asia into the Roman empire which destroyed that recently converted world power. The second was the Mohammedan conquest which permanently crippled Christianity's home base in Asia. At the same time the church loses its unity.
3. But also beginning about 400 new movements emerge in theology (Augustine), in church organization (the papacy) and in mission (Nestorian, Celtic, Roman and Monophysite) which begin to revive the church and expand the faith.

B. The Invasions. Three waves of attack destroy Roman culture and imperil the Christian faith.

1. Romanized, heretical barbarians (Vandals, Visigoths) from 378. The fall of Rome, 378 (Valens); Alaric (410), last emperor (476).
2. Pagan barbarians (Huns, Slavs, Avars). Attila into Europe (5th c.); Slavs, Avars and Bulgars into Balkans (6th, 7th c.)
3. Muslims. This was the most devastating attack of all, from Persia, across North Africa into Spain.

The church survived and absorbed the barbarians in the west; but in the east it never really recovered from the advance of Islam. The number of people that entered the church in the west with the conversion of the barbarians between 500 and 1000 AD was probably more than matched by the number lost by Christianity to Islam in Africa and Asia during the same period. It was proportionately the greatest loss Christianity has ever suffered before or since. (Freitag, 20th C. Atlas, p. 60)

C. Mission and Revival. While the Christian west (Rome) was falling to the barbarians (and converting them), and while the Christian east (Constantinople) was driving them back (but splitting apart into religious factions), beyond the borders of the Roman Empire east and west new missionary movements arose to revive the church and spread the faith. The centers of new Christian mission in this time of general decline were Celtic monasticism in the west, the Roman papacy in the center and Nestorian missions to the far east.

1. Celtic missions. Two important points should be first noted about the Celtic church and its missions. First, its independence from Rome. Its center was in Ireland and Britain outside the empire, though its roots go back to Roman Britain. Second, its authority and vitality developed around monasticism and missionary abbots rather than diocesan bishops. Its pattern, therefore, was sodality (voluntary, limited societies) rather than modality (inclusive, unlimited societies). Modalities stress the unity of the whole group, e.g. the church; sodalities express the need for wholesome diversity within the unity, and for voluntary initiative (See Winter/Beaver, The Warp and the Woof, esp. p. 52 ff.)

Patrick (c. 389-461) was "the apostle to Ireland". Taken as a slave from Britain and held there for six years, he escaped, entered a monastery and later felt compelled by a vision almost against his will to return to Ireland as a missionary, in 431. He challenged the druid wizards, preached to the nobles and organized the church in bishoprics, but also encouraged the Irish monasteries to become the real centers of learning and mission.

Columba (521-597), "the apostle to Scotland" was the great pioneer of Irish monastic missions. Though of royal blood (his great-grandfather was High King of Ireland when Patrick was enslaved there, and three of his cousins were Irish kings) he entered a monastery to study and became a priest. But in 563 after a typical Irish dispute with his teacher, he set out with 12 disciples in an open boat on an independent mission to convert his fellow Celts, the pagan savages of Scotland. His center of mission was the monastery of Iona which he founded on an island off the coast. Central in his missionary preaching was the Bible. To every church planted by the Iona missionary bands he insisted that there be a copy of the Scriptures given, which was no easy requirement in days when it took a scribe ten months of continuous work to make just one copy of the Bible. It was from Iona, also, in the next century that northern England was successfully reached with the gospel, by Aidan about 635 AD after papal missions there had almost been wiped out by Saxon invasions.

Aidan (d. 651) became the instrument for the conversion of northern England where other missions had failed. On the first attempt from Iona the missionary returned discouraged to say the English were impossible to convert, "uncivilized, hard and barbarous". "Brother..," said Aidan, "you were too harsh. You should have followed the Apostles and given them the milk of simple teaching". And he went himself, invited by King Oswald who had been converted in Scotland. He began to preach before he even knew English, with the king acting as interpreter, and always traveled on foot so he could turn aside and ask people if they believed.

Columban (550-615), a younger namesake of Columba, carried the gospel beyond the British isles into Europe. He set up a monastery (Luxeuil) as a missionary center like Iona, but was so bold in his denunciation of the immorality of King Theodoric of Burgundy and his concubines that he was forced to flee into Switzerland and eventually landed up in Italy where he was not afraid to challenge the Pope. The only authority he would accept was Scripture and the right.

2. Papal Missions. There are also two important points to be noted about the Roman papal missions of this period. First, unlike the Celtic missions, they were more loyal to the papacy, more ecclesiastical (modal) and less independent. But second, they were a mixture of modality and sodality, of episcopal and monastic forms. Their bishops were often former monks and their monasticism was not of the independent Celtic kind, but Benedictine and disciplined, following the rule of Benedict of Nursia who founded his monastery at Monte Cassino in Italy in 529 AD. Four important characteristics forged the monasteries into effective instruments of Christian mission: first, they were deeply committed Christian communities in an age of nominal, Constantinian Christianity; second, they were centers of Biblical and classical learning; third, they were economically self-supporting; and fourth, they had a discipline.

Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), the "father of the mediaeval papacy" was the son of a rich Roman senator but gave up his wealth to found monasteries and enter one himself. Obedient to a call from the pope, however, he left the monastery to re-enter the world and assist in the administration of the Roman church, first as one of the seven deacons of Rome and then as ambassador to Constantinople. Again he was allowed to return to the life of the monastery he loved but in 590 was called to become pope himself, in which capacity he served as virtual head of the western Roman empire, making a separate peace with the invading Lombards and more importantly for mission, granting to Benedictine monasticism as agents of papal missions a partial exemption from the control of local bishops. The well-known incident of the English slaves he saw in the Roman market ("They are Angles, but may they become angels") is said to have been the beginning of his interest in missions.

Gregory's principles of missionary strategy are outlined in a famous letter he wrote in 601 to the missionary team he sent to convert the English. First, the mission is to be church-centered and church-controlled; it must be organized as soon as possible. Second, missionaries are not to condemn everything in the pagan religions but should "baptize" as much of what they find in them as possible, making it Christian and using it as a bridge into the full Christian faith. Third, the Christian mission is to be directed toward the conversion of kings and rulers in order that their influence may be used to win the people.

Augustine of Canterbury (d. ca. 604) was the leader of Gregory's team of 40 missionaries. He landed in England in 597 and following Gregory's third principle proceeded to convert the king of the Saxon kingdom of Kent with the help of its Christian queen. Kent was the leading kingdom in the Saxon hegemony of seven kingdoms, and within a year ten thousand Saxons became Christian. In line with the second principle he adapted the old heathen temples into churches, and then, as the first principle urged, he quickly organized a national church under direct papal control with himself as the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

3. Anglo-Saxon Missions. In 664 the two streams of western Christianity, independent Celtic and disciplined Roman, were brought together at the fateful Synod of Whitby. The issue was what seemed to be a minor dispute over the date of Easter, but beneath it was the question of the authority of Rome. The Irish claimed the authority of St. John; the Romans that of St. Peter. Wilfrid argued for Rome but it was the king, Oswy, who made the final decision in favor of St. Peter (since he had the keys of heaven). The Celtic church only slowly and reluctantly surrendered its independence but the resulting combination of Irish enthusiasm and Roman organization sent a fresh wave of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to plant their Benedictine monasteries across northern Europe from Frisia to Germany. Unlike the earlier Irish peregrini (wanderers for Christ, or missionaries) who sometimes undertook missions as much from ascetic and penitential motives as for evangelism, the Anglo-Saxons systematically planned and organized the conversion of Europe around a papally approved church structure.

Egbert (d. 729), a Saxon monk in an Irish monastery was the pioneer who, in 690 conceived the vision of an organized mission specifically designed for the conversion of the Frisians in what is now Holland. When a shipwreck kept him from reaching his destination he stayed behind to train and send other, challenging them that as their fathers had left the continent as pagans some hundreds of years earlier, now as Christians they must take back the gospel to their distant kinsmen who were still pagan. When the mission was well under way, in 712 he retired to Iona to persuade that center of Celtic missions to accept the authority of Rome.

Willibrord (658-739), "the apostle to Frisia" was also Saxon and studied first under Wilfrid the champion of Roman authority at the Synod of Whitby, before going to Ireland to train under Egbert and accept his challenge to missionary service in Europe. In 692 he crossed the channel to Frisia and evangelized against great opposition from the mouth of the Rhine to the edge of Denmark. In 695/6 on the advice of his friend King Pippin of the Franks (father of Charles Martel, grandfather of Charlemagne) Willibrord was made Archbishop of Utrecht by the pope.

Boniface (680-754), "the apostle to Germany", was the greatest of all the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. In 716 he went to help Willibrord in his mission to the Frisians and in 719 won the pope's approval for a mission to the Germans. In a spectacular confrontation with pagan German religion he began to cut down the sacred oak of Geismar, and when a sudden gust of wind toppled the tree he was acclaimed as a miracle-worker. More importantly, he established missionary monasteries (Benedictine), strengthened the German and Frankish churches' ties with the papacy, and reformed the declining Frankish church at the request of the King, Charles Martel, who at the same time was saving southern Europe from conquest by the advancing Mohammedans. Boniface is well described (by Latourette) as "a man of prayer..steeped in the Scriptures, a born leader of men..a superb organizer..a great Christian, a great missionary and a great bishop."

D. Kings and "the Kingdom".

Perhaps the most questionable, but at the same time most effective feature of the church's strategy of development in this period (as also in the latter part of the preceding period) was its emphasis on converting nations through the influence of converted kings and princes. All too often the conversion of kings was more political than spiritual, and their influence on be-

half of the Christian church was as much through secular pressure as through gospel evangelism.

In Scotland, much of the Christian advance of Columba's Irish monks, despite their evangelistic zeal, was due to the fact that Columba himself was as prince, dealing with clan chiefs who were his own relatives. England was reached by the missionaries from Iona, but basic decisions were often made by princes like Oswald, King of Northumbria, Ethelbert King of Kent (the first Christian king among the Anglo-Saxons), and Oswy, King of Northumbria.

Likewise, the conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks, in 496 was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. Three years earlier, as a young and savage barbarian German chief fighting against Rome, he had married a Christian princess from Burgundy. Not long after, facing certain defeat and death in battle he cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda (his wife) praises as the Son of the living God" help me; and I will believe. He went on to win the battle, and Clovis kept his promise, and 5000 of his troops were baptized with him. This "conversion" of the Franks is often cited as a lesson in the superficiality of the Christianizing of nations through their rulers. The life of Clovis after his baptism showed little evidence of a true faith. He has been called "the most wicked Christian king in history". Nevertheless, the stubborn historical fact remains: as the conversion of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and permanently toward the Christian faith, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian for the next 1300 years.

As at the beginning of this period, with Clovis, so at the end, with Charlemagne, an even greater king of the Franks, the German tribes were still being Christianized through a ruler and by methods which we must consider dubious at best. The celebrated account of how Charlemagne in 772 set out to convert the pagan Saxons, marching against them with a great army and "all the bishops, abbots and presbyters" he could muster, and "partly by persuasion and partly by arms and partly by gifts, he converted the greater part of the people." The first generation may not have been very Christian, but what if Luther's Germany had never become Christian? Perhaps God can use even the inadequacies and mistakes of our missionary methods for His own glory.

E. Nestorianism: Schism and Mission (400-800 AD)

While Christianity in the west in this period was recovering its unity and bringing the Celtic church back into conformity with Rome, the church in the east was tragically splitting into three major segments: Eastern Orthodoxy in Byzantium (Constantinople), Nestorianism in Persia, and Monophysitism in Syria (the Jacobites) and Egypt and Ethiopia (the Copts). The causes of schism were as much political as religious. Persia and Rome were hereditary enemies; and African regionalism chafed under the dominance of Constantinople in the eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium). But there were theological differences as well. The sharpest controversy centered about the relationship between Christ's deity and his humanity. All agreed that He was both God and Man. But Nestorians were dyophysite ("two natures"), insisting that Christ had two separate natures, his humanity and his deity, and in terms of practical, ethical Christian living his humanity is perhaps even more important than his deity. The Monophysites ("one nature") replied that one person could have

only one nature and emphasized the primacy of Christ's deity for only a divine Saviour could rescue man from sin. The orthodox center (Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic) accepted a compromise formula, that of the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD): one Person in two natures, human and divine.

Beginning with two important councils in the early fifth century, the Church of the East (which only later was called Nestorian) developed its first national Persian organization (Synod of Seleucia, 410), and declared its independence from the authority of the western churches (Synod of Dadiso, 424). Then began its great expansion from Persia in all directions across Asia. It moved south into the deserts and had almost won Arabia for the faith by the time Mohammed was born. Christian Arab kings ruled in the north-east (Lakhmid), the south (Yemen), and the northwest (Ghassanid) which however was not Nestorian but at times orthodox and at times monophysite.

Most impressive of all the Nestorian missionary achievements was the advance of the faith east across the Asian heartland as far as China. As early as 498 the White Huns or Turks of Bactria (Afghanistan) had begun to turn Christian. A remarkable combination of evangelistic, educational and agricultural missions commended the Christian witness to the nomadic tribes of the Asian steppes and by the middle of the sixth century the Turkic chief was asking that the tribes be given their own bishops. By 781 they had their own archbishop. But already by then the wave of Nestorian missions had rolled on far beyond central Asia to reach the capital of China's mighty T'ang dynasty. In the year 635, while the successors of Mohammed (d. 632) were beginning to boil up out of the desert to conquer Persia, the first Christian Persian missionary, Alopen, entered Chang'an, was welcomed by the Emperor and asked to translate the sacred Christian books into Chinese. The Emperor Tai Tsung (627-650) even gave orders for the construction of the first Christian church in China in 638, and for the next two hundred years the church grew and established monasteries throughout the empire.

The history of T'ang dynasty Nestorian Christianity, the earliest church in northeast Asia, can be divided into six periods: (after J. Foster)

1. The first Christian mission to China (635-638 AD)
2. The early growth of the church in China (638-683)
3. First opposition and persecution (683-712)
4. Recovery of the church (712-763)
5. Period of greatest influence (763-832)
6. Disappearance of the Nestorians from China (832-980 AD)

It was in this period also that the Nestorians brought the ancient Thomas church of India into relationship with the Nestorian patriarch of Persia. Nestorian Christians fleeing from the great Persian persecution of 340-380 AD may have been the first point of contact, although there is a reference to a Persian bishop Dudi (or David) undertaking an Indian mission as early as 300 AD. But by about 450 AD Nestorian missionaries had firmly cemented the authority of the Persian patriarch in India and the language of the Indian church, like that of the Persian church, was Syriac. Even the island of Ceylon, reported a Nestorian traveler in the 6th century, Cosmas Indicopleustes, has a church and clergy "ordained and sent from Persia.. and a multitude of Christians".

SODALITY

MODALITY

SECULAR

994 ODBLO ABBOT OF CLUNY
 910 BERNO FOUNDS CLUNY
 863 CONSTANTINE & METHODIUS TO MORAVIA
 826 ANSKAR'S 1st MISSIONARY JOURNEY TO SCANDINAVIA
 817 MONASTIC MEETINGS AT AACHEN
 533 CORZE RE-FOUNDED
 GERMAN REFORM MOVEMENT
 869 COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE
 867-74 SERBIAN CONVERSION
 865 BULGARIAN CONVERSION
 858 NICHOLAS I POPE
 858 PHOTIUS PATRIARCH
 848 LEO IV WALLS "LEONINE CITY"
 843 ICONOCLASM ENDED
 FEUDALISM DEVELOPS
 895 MAGYARS INVADE HUNGARY
 887 FINAL COLLAPSE OF CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE
 871 ALFRED THE GREAT REIGNS (ENGLAND)
 867 BYZANTINE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY
 843 DIVISION OF CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE
 c. 800 VIKINGS INVADE EUROPE
 980 MONKS FIND NOXNS IN CHINA
 1084 BRUNO FOUNDS CARTHUSIANS AT CHARTREUSE
 940 DUNSTAN ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY REFORM LEADER
 1020 HERRIN FOUNDS BCC
 967-999 BOHEMIAN CONVERSION
 988 BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN CONVERSION
 992-1025 POLISH CONVERSION
 997-1038 MAGYAR CONVERSION
 1033 ANSELM
 SCANDINAVIAN CONVERSION
 976 BASIL II BYZANTINE EMPEROR
 960 SUNG DYNASTY - CHINA
 962 OTTO I CROWNED EMPEROR
 955 OTTO I DEFEATS MAGYARS
 936 LUDWIG KING OF GERMANY
 1046 HENRY III HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR
 1098 ROBERT FOUNDS CISTERCIANS AT CITEAUX
 1076 HENRY IV EXCOMMUNICATED
 1054 EASTERN PATRIARCH EXCOMMUNICATED
 1049 LEO IX - REFORMER
 1033 ANSELM
 1059 HILDEBRAND RISES TO POWER
 1073 HILDEBRAND
 POPE GREGORY VII
 1088 URBAN II
 1096 FIRST CRUSADE TAKES JERUSALEM
 1071 END OF BYZANTINE POWER IN ITALY
 1066 NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND
 1061 NORMANS DRIVE MUSLIMS OUT OF SICILY
 1194 WALDENSES EXCOMMUNICATED
 1176 WALDO INITIATES WALDENSES
 CATHART DEVELOP
 1120 PREMONSTRATENSIANS AND MILITARY ORDERS FOUNDED
 1115 BERNARD ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUX
 1198 INNOCENT III
 1179 THIRD LATERAN COUNCIL
 1170 BECKETT MURDERED
 1159 LOMBARD'S SENTENCES
 1140 ABELARD CONCERNED - SENS
 1139 SECOND LATERAN COUNCIL
 1123 FIRST LATERAN COUNCIL
 1122 CONCORDAT OF WORMS
 1102 LONDON COUNCIL CONDEMNS SLAVERY
 1189 THIRD CRUSADE
 1187 LOSS OF JERUSALEM
 1186 BULGARIANS BREAK AWAY FROM BYZANTINE EMPIRE
 1155 EXECUTION OF ARNOLO OF BRESCIA
 1146 SECOND CRUSADE
 1135 MAIMONIDES
 1126 AVERROES

0000

SECOND DARK AGES

VIKINGS

THIRD CURTAIN RISING

1200

III. RECOVERY IN THE WEST AND DECLINE IN THE EAST (800-1200 AD).

The third period of church history, if we divide it into 400 year periods, is from 800 to 1200. Winter describes it in terms of "Encounter with the Vikings; and Irregular Expansion". Latourette, who divides the periods differently (950-1350 AD), calls this era "The Rising Tide in the West". But looking at the world as a whole we might say that these were the 400 years when for the first time the balance between east and west in the Christian world shifted decisively to the west. The faith was born in Asia, and even after the conversion of Constantine remained significantly eastern, as is evidenced by the Christian emperor's decision to build his second capital in the east, in Constantinople. The fall of western Rome to the barbarians accentuated the dominance of the Christian east in spite of the church divisions in the east between Orthodox Byzantium (Constantinople), Monophysite Egypt (and Syria), and the Nestorians of Asia (from Persia and India to China).

The turning point in the shift from east to west came with the age of Charlemagne. When he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor on Christmas day, 800 AD, the west symbolically separated from the east, and the east declined. This is the age, then, when Europe recovered from the barbarian invasions, completed the conversion of the continent, and began to form a new "Christian" empire among the converted barbarians. It survived and absorbed a second wave of barbarian invasions from the north (the Vikings). Then, with new unity and identity and in the name of Christ, alas, it went to war, moving eastward to attack a post-Christian, Mohammedan Asia in the crusades. For this was also the age in which Christianity in Asia, the older home of the faith, almost disappeared.

A. The Carolingian Renaissance. Like a second Constantine, Charlemagne (d. 814) gave the west a Christian empire for the first time since the fall of Rome. But how can we say that the age of Charlemagne was a turn for the better? Someone has said that the Holy Roman Empire, which in a way he founded, was neither holy, nor Roman nor an empire. As an empire it broke up within 30 years of his death. It was German (and Frankish), not Roman. And its Christianity was often nominal, usually superstitious and occasionally cruel. Its success in missions largely depended either on force of arms or on foreigners, -the Celtic-influenced, Anglo-Saxon monks whom it steadily sought to replace with Roman bishops. Its morals were lamentable. Charles was no saint. When his fourth wife died, he was content with four concubines. (See H. Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire, and Milman's Hist. of Latin Christianity). In many ways, the Holy Roman Empire was a return to "modality" with all the weaknesses of that kind of ecclesiastical, centralized unity (as well as its advantages) and consequent loss of some of the puritan, missionary vitalities of the previous period.

Nevertheless, by contrast with what had been before, that is, the barbarism and savagery of pagan Europe, and with what came after, the Dark Ages, especially the "papal pornocracy" of the first half of the 10th century (to 960 AD), the age of Charlemagne was an age of church reform, an age of educational and theological recovery under his teacher, the great Alcuin, and compared with the seventeen popes of the "pornocracy" Charles was indeed almost a saint. It was also an age of missionary outreach. As his empire expanded, so did Christian missions. Even when his empire fell apart, the concept of a Christian west under two complementary and mutually supporting sovereigns (an emperor and a pope) refused to die. It was revived by Otto I of Saxony in 962 and though only partly successful was the major unifying ideal in Europe for a thousand years, until Napoleon in 1806 ended it.

B. The Viking Invasions and the Conversion of Scandinavia. Up to the year 800 when Germany was rapidly being Christianized, the far north was still isolated and unreachd. Christian Europe paid dearly for its delay in reaching the savage Scandinavian tribes with the gospel, for suddenly it was inundated by waves of northern invaders. The Vikings had begun to raid England in the 790s, but the invasions began in furious earnest in 835. Ireland, cradle of Celtic Christian civilization was almost annihilated by the Norwegians. The Northmen (Normans) turned the coasts of France and Netherlands into desert. Then the tide turned. Alfred the Great stopped the Danish advance in England (878) though he had to turn over half of the island to the Vikings. There, however they began to turn Christian and in another century a Danish king of England, a Christian, Canute (1017-35) ruled a northern empire of Denmark, England and Norway like another Charlemagne. In France, Charlemagne's great-great grandson, Charles the Simple (893-923) gave the invading Normans much of northeastern France and began to turn them into Christian allies.

Moreover, the Christian faith began to make its way up into the Viking homelands. Olaf Trygvesson (995-1000), king of Norway, was converted on a visit to England and took English missionaries back with him to Norway; and when Norway broke away from Canute's Danish rule in 1015 and established its independence under another King Olaf (Haraldson, called "the Saint"), he too brought bishops and clergy from England and northern Germany and virtually forced his Norwegian people to become Christian. A typical chronicle entry of the time is "They were forced by this battle into a better disposition and immediately received Christianity" (Robinson, Conversion of Europe, p. 465). Sweden was the slowest of all the three countries to accept the new faith. Not until the middle of the 12th c. (the reign of King Sverker, 1130-55) could it be said that the Swedish church was firmly established. But already by then, despite the use of missionary methods which make us cringe even to read about, the spread of the Christian faith through the northlands had so changed the savage Vikings, reported the historian Adam of Bremen (d. 1076), that they had left their piracy and the long ships and had learned to love peace. (Ibid, p. 469).

C. The Crusades (1096-1271). The prevailing reliance on political and military means for Christian mission which we have seen as characteristic of this period led straight to the greatest missionary mistake in Christian history, the Crusades. From the first call of Pope Urban II in 1096 to the kings and princes of Christendom to drive the "accursed race" of infidels from the Holy Land, and the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 when the victorious Christian crusaders poured like wolves through the streets trampling on severed Moslem heads and riding through human blood that swirled above the fetlocks of their horses (see Harold Lamb, The Crusades, pp. 39 f., 236 f.), from that first crusade to the eighth and last in 1271, neither the motivation nor the method of this kind of Christian mission was anything but "irreparable disaster" (S. Neill, p. 173).

D. The Reform and Revival of the Church. Even the crusades were not all loss. Misdirected though they were into war and violence, they formed part of a revival of Christian zeal and moral and spiritual reform. In the darkest days of the "papal pornocracy", in 910 the Norman Duke William of Aquitaine and the monk Berno founded a monastery at Cluny dedicated to asceticism, spirituality and church reform. For two hundred years the movement spread, reviving the moral and spiritual power of the papacy itself, as under Leo IX (1049-54) and

even more strongly under Leo's adviser and eventual successor Hildebrand (Gregory VII, 1073-1085). Thus once again the reforming vitality of a "sodality" was instrumental in breathing new life into the churchly "modality". The spiritual power of a Hildebrand, skillfully exercised and organized in his capacity as pope, proved more than a match for the secular power of an emperor. At Canossa (1077) the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV stood barefoot and penitent in the snow for three days begging Hildebrand to release him from excommunication. (See Hildebrand's own account in Henderson, Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages, p. 386 ff.) This has been called 'the most dramatic illustration in church history of the power of the church in the world. But as in the crusades, the use of spiritual power for temporal ends brings mixed results. In the end the good pope died in exile and the final resolution of the controversy between pope and emperor over which had authority to elect and invest bishops was a compromise. The Concordat of Worms (1122) ruled that both pope and emperor must approve the choice of bishops and abbots thus recognizing a touch of spiritual authority in the state, and of temporal power in the papacy.

E. The Decline of the Church in Asia.

1. Mohammedan mastery of western Asia. The four hundred years from 800 to 1200 saw the great Christian centers of the mid-east--Antioch, Edessa, Ctesiphon (and Baghdad) transformed from radiating centers of Christian mission to ingrown Christian ghettos in a Mohammedan sea. The ill-fated attempt of the crusades to rescue them only made their situation worse.

For more than a century after the Moslem conquest Nestorian Christians were treated with remarkable tolerance by the Ommayad dynasty (661-750 AD, but under the Abbasid Caliphs (750-c. 1100) repression gradually increased. Persecution flared for a time in the reign of a Moslem contemporary of Charlemagne, Haroun al-Rashid of Arabian Nights fame (786-809, when Christians were accused of alliance with Constantinople. By the end of the 10th c. (987) the Moslem Caliphs had taken from the Christian bishops the right of electing their Nestorian patriarch. The mad Caliph al-Hakim (1009-20) was the fiercest of the persecutors, forcing Christians he did not kill to wear five-pound wooden crosses around their necks. Far more effective than violence, was the steady pressure of persecution by taxation. Ever since the conquest the only escape for a Christian from the ever heavier financial harassment was conversion to Islam.

But the fate of the eastern church under the Moslems was, in the final analysis, the deliberate choice of the church and its people. What produced the withered ghettos of the Nestorians and Monophysites was not so much the sword of Islam as the law of Islam. The law permitted Christians to worship but forbade them to propagate their faith. Faced with a choice between survival and witness the churches of the east chose survival. They ceased to evangelize. They survived, but what survived was no longer a whole and living church.

2. The disappearance of the Nestorians in China. Some time between 800 and 1000 AD the Nestorian mission in China vanished almost without a trace. Of the various reasons usually given for their decline, the following are most persuasive: the defeat of the Uigurs, a strongly supportive tribe; the great anti-Buddhist persecution (848-67) which spilled over against Christians; and the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907. But the ultimate reason may have been inner weakness, not outer opposition: superstition, moral decline, syncretistic compromise with oriental religions and failure to develop Chinese leadership. But even as it disappeared in China, beginning about 1000 AD a new invigoration of the faith appeared in Central Asia among tribes destined to become the new dominant power of East Asia, the Mongols.

II. Encounter with Barbarians and Muslims: the Great Recession (400-800)

A. Why begin a new period with 400 AD? Three reasons:

1. A great cluster of significant events suggests that the period from 300 to 500, centering around 400 was the end of one era in church history and the beginning of a new one.

From 300 to 400: Conversion of Constantine and edict of toleration (311, 313); Eusebius and first church history (311-324); First ecumenical council, Nicaea (325); Persian persecutions (339-379); Ulfilas' mission to Goths (341); Conversion of St. Augustine (386)

From 400 to 500: Romans leave Britain (400); Pope Innocent I (402) Persian edict of toleration (409); First Nestorian council (410) Rome sacked by barbarians (410); Nestorius deposed (431); Patrick's mission to Ireland (432); 4th ecumenical council, Chalcedon (451); Monophysite, Syrian and Coptic, schism (458); Last Roman emperor in Rome (476); Nestorian seminary ejected from west to Persian east (489); Nestorian mission to Central Asia (497).

2. Beginning about 400 a sharp change occurs in church history. After its triumph over the Mediterranean world the church met two stunning reverses. The first was the invasion of the barbarians from northern Europe and western Asia into the Roman empire which destroyed that recently converted world power. The second was the Mohammedan conquest which permanently crippled Christianity's home base in Asia. At the same time the church loses its unity.
3. But also beginning about 400 new movements emerge in theology (Augustine), in church organization (the papacy) and in mission (Nestorian, Celtic, Roman and Monophysite) which begin to revive the church and expand the faith.

B. The Invasions. Three waves of attack destroy Roman culture and imperil the Christian faith.

1. Romanized, heretical barbarians (Vandals, Visigoths) from 378. The fall of Rome, 378 (Valens); Alaric (410), last emperor (476).
2. Pagan barbarians (Huns, Slavs, Avars). Attila into Europe (5th c.); Slavs, Avars and Bulgars into Balkans (6th, 7th c.)
3. Muslims. This was the most devastating attack of all, from Persia, across North Africa into Spain.

The church survived and absorbed the barbarians in the west; but in the east it never really recovered from the advance of Islam. The number of people that entered the church in the west with the conversion of the barbarians between 500 and 1000 AD was probably more than matched by the number lost by Christianity to Islam in Africa and Asia during the same period. It was proportionately the greatest loss Christianity has ever suffered before or since. (Freitag, 20th C. Atlas, p. 60)

C. Mission and Revival. While the Christian west (Rome) was falling to the barbarians (and converting them), and while the Christian east (Constantinople) was driving them back (but splitting apart into religious factions), beyond the borders of the Roman Empire east and west new missionary movements arose to revive the church and spread the faith. The centers of new Christian mission in this time of general decline were Celtic monasticism in the west, the Roman papacy in the center and Nestorian missions to the far east.

1. Celtic missions. Two important points should be first noted about the Celtic church and its missions. First, its independence from Rome. Its center was in Ireland and Britain outside the empire, though its roots go back to Roman Britain. Second, its authority and vitality developed around monasticism and missionary abbots rather than diocesan bishops. Its pattern, therefore, was sodality (voluntary, limited societies) rather than modality (inclusive, unlimited societies). Modalities stress the unity of the whole group, e.g. the church; sodalities express the need for wholesome diversity within the unity, and for voluntary initiative (See Winter/Beaver, The Warp and the Woof, esp. p. 52 ff.)

Patrick (c. 389-461) was "the apostle to Ireland". Taken as a slave from Britain and held there for six years, he escaped, entered a monastery and later felt compelled by a vision almost against his will to return to Ireland as a missionary, in 431. He challenged the druid wizards, preached to the nobles and organized the church in bishoprics, but also encouraged the Irish monasteries to become the real centers of learning and mission.

Columba (521-597), "the apostle to Scotland" was the great pioneer of Irish monastic missions. Though of royal blood (his great-grandfather was High King of Ireland when Patrick was enslaved there, and three of his cousins were Irish kings) he entered a monastery to study and became a priest. But in 563 after a typical Irish dispute with his teacher, he set out with 12 disciples in an open boat on an independent mission to convert his fellow Celts, the pagan savages of Scotland. His center of mission was the monastery of Iona which he founded on an island off the coast. Central in his missionary preaching was the Bible. To every church planted by the Iona missionary bands he insisted that there be a copy of the Scriptures given, which was no easy requirement in days when it took a scribe ten months of continuous work to make just one copy of the Bible. It was from Iona, also, in the next century that northern England was successfully reached with the gospel, by Aidan about 635 AD after papal missions there had almost been wiped out by Saxon invasions.

Aidan (d. 651) became the instrument for the conversion of northern England where other missions had failed. On the first attempt from Iona the missionary returned discouraged to say the English were impossible to convert, "uncivilized, hard and barbarous". "Brother..," said Aidan, "you were too harsh. You should have followed the Apostles and given them the milk of simple teaching". And he went himself, invited by King Oswald who had been converted in Scotland. He began to preach before he even knew English, with the king acting as interpreter, and always traveled on foot so he could turn aside and ask people if they believed.

Columban (550-615), a younger namesake of Columba, carried the gospel beyond the British isles into Europe. He set up a monastery (Luxeuil) as a missionary center like Iona, but was so bold in his denunciation of the immorality of King Theodoric of Burgundy and his concubines that he was forced to flee into Switzerland and eventually landed up in Italy where he was not afraid to challenge the Pope. The only authority he would accept was Scripture and the right.

2. Papal Missions. There are also two important points to be noted about the Roman papal missions of this period. First, unlike the Celtic missions, they were more loyal to the papacy, more ecclesiastical (modal) and less independent. But second, they were a mixture of modality and sodality, of episcopal and monastic forms. Their bishops were often former monks and their monasticism was not of the independent Celtic kind, but Benedictine and disciplined, following the rule of Benedict of Nursia who founded his monastery at Monte Cassino in Italy in 529 AD. Four important characteristics forged the monasteries into effective instruments of Christian mission: first, they were deeply committed Christian communities in an age of nominal, Constantinian Christianity; second, they were centers of Biblical and classical learning; third, they were economically self-supporting; and fourth, they had a discipline.

Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), the "father of the mediaeval papacy" was the son of a rich Roman senator but gave up his wealth to found monasteries and enter one himself. Obedient to a call from the pope, however, he left the monastery to re-enter the world and assist in the administration of the Roman church, first as one of the seven deacons of Rome and then as ambassador to Constantinople. Again he was allowed to return to the life of the monastery he loved but in 590 was called to become pope himself, in which capacity he served as virtual head of the western Roman empire, making a separate peace with the invading Lombards and more importantly for mission, granting to Benedictine monasticism as agents of papal missions a partial exemption from the control of local bishops. The well-known incident of the English slaves he saw in the Roman market ("They are Angles, but may they become angels") is said to have been the beginning of his interest in missions.

Gregory's principles of missionary strategy are outlined in a famous letter he wrote in 601 to the missionary team he sent to convert the English. First, the mission is to be church-centered and church-controlled; it must be organized as soon as possible. Second, missionaries are not to condemn everything in the pagan religions but should "baptize" as much of what they find in them as possible, making it Christian and using it as a bridge into the full Christian faith. Third, the Christian mission is to be directed toward the conversion of kings and rulers in order that their influence may be used to win the people.

Augustine of Canterbury (d. ca. 604) was the leader of Gregory's team of 40 missionaries. He landed in England in 597 and following Gregory's third principle proceeded to convert the king of the Saxon kingdom of Kent with the help of its Christian queen. Kent was the leading kingdom in the Saxon hegemony of seven kingdoms, and within a year ten thousand Saxons became Christian. In line with the second principle he adapted the old heathen temples into churches, and then, as the first principle urged, he quickly organized a national church under direct papal control with himself as the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

3. Anglo-Saxon Missions. In 664 the two streams of western Christianity, independent Celtic and disciplined Roman, were brought together at the fateful Synod of Whitby. The issue was what seemed to be a minor dispute over the date of Easter, but beneath it was the question of the authority of Rome. The Irish claimed the authority of St. John; the Romans that of St. Peter. Wilfrid argued for Rome but it was the king, Oswy, who made the final decision in favor of St. Peter (since he had the keys of heaven). The Celtic church only slowly and reluctantly surrendered its independence but the resulting combination of Irish enthusiasm and Roman organization sent a fresh wave of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to plant their Benedictine monasteries across northern Europe from Frisia to Germany. Unlike the earlier Irish peregrini (wanderers for Christ, or missionaries) who sometimes undertook missions as much from ascetic and penitential motives as for evangelism, the Anglo-Saxons systematically planned and organized the conversion of Europe around a papally approved church structure.

Egbert (d. 729), a Saxon monk in an Irish monastery was the pioneer who, in 690 conceived the vision of an organized mission specifically designed for the conversion of the Frisians in what is now Holland. When a shipwreck kept him from reaching his destination he stayed behind to train and send other, challenging them that as their fathers had left the continent as pagans some hundreds of years earlier, now as Christians they must take back the gospel to their distant kinsmen who were still pagan. When the mission was well under way, in 712 he retired to Iona to persuade that center of Celtic missions to accept the authority of Rome.

Willibrord (658-739), "the apostle to Frisia" was also Saxon and studied first under Wilfrid the champion of Roman authority at the Synod of Whitby, before going to Ireland to train under Egbert and accept his challenge to missionary service in Europe. In 692 he crossed the channel to Frisia and evangelized against great opposition from the mouth of the Rhine to the edge of Denmark. In 695/6 on the advice of his friend King Pippin of the Franks (father of Charles Martel, grandfather of Charlemagne) Willibrord was made Archbishop of Utrecht by the pope.

Boniface (680-754), "the apostle to Germany", was the greatest of all the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. In 716 he went to help Willibrord in his mission to the Frisians and in 719 won the pope's approval for a mission to the Germans. In a spectacular confrontation with pagan German religion he began to cut down the sacred oak of Geismar, and when a sudden gust of wind toppled the tree he was acclaimed as a miracle-worker. More importantly, he established missionary monasteries (Benedictine), strengthened the German and Frankish churches' ties with the papacy, and reformed the declining Frankish church at the request of the King, Charles Martel, who at the same time was saving southern Europe from conquest by the advancing Mohammedans. Boniface is well described (by Latourette) as "a man of prayer..steeped in the Scriptures, a born leader of men..a superb organizer..a great Christian, a great missionary and a great bishop."

D. Kings and "the Kingdom".

Perhaps the most questionable, but at the same time most effective feature of the church's strategy of development in this period (as also in the latter part of the preceding period) was its emphasis on converting nations through the influence of converted kings and princes. All too often the conversion of kings was more political than spiritual, and their influence on be-

half of the Christian church was as much through secular pressure as through gospel evangelism.

In Scotland, much of the Christian advance of Columba's Irish monks, despite their evangelistic zeal, was due to the fact that Columba himself was as prince, dealing with clan chiefs who were his own relatives. England was reached by the missionaries from Iona, but basic decisions were often made by princes like Oswald, King of Northumbria, Ethelbert King of Kent (the first Christian king among the Anglo-Saxons), and Oswy, King of Northumbria.

Likewise, the conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks, in 496 was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. Three years earlier, as a young and savage barbarian German chief fighting against Rome, he had married a Christian princess from Burgundy. Not long after, facing certain defeat and death in battle he cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda (his wife) praises as the Son of the living God" help me; and I will believe. He went on to win the battle, and Clovis kept his promise, and 5000 of his troops were baptized with him. This "conversion" of the Franks is often cited as a lesson in the superficiality of the Christianizing of nations through their rulers. The life of Clovis after his baptism showed little evidence of a true faith. He has been called "the most wicked Christian king in history". Nevertheless, the stubborn historical fact remains: as the conversion of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and permanently toward the Christian faith, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian for the next 1300 years.

As at the beginning of this period, with Clovis, so at the end, with Charlemagne, an even greater king of the Franks, the German tribes were still being Christianized through a ruler and by methods which we must consider dubious at best. The celebrated account of how Charlemagne in 772 set out to convert the pagan Saxons, marching against them with a great army and "all the bishops, abbots and presbyters" he could muster, and "partly by persuasion and partly by arms and partly by gifts, he converted the greater part of the people." The first generation may not have been very Christian, but what if Luther's Germany had never become Christian? Perhaps God can use even the inadequacies and mistakes of our missionary methods for His own glory.

E. Nestorianism: Schism and Mission (400-800 AD)

While Christianity in the west in this period was recovering its unity and bringing the Celtic church back into conformity with Rome, the church in the east was tragically splitting into three major segments: Eastern Orthodoxy in Byzantium (Constantinople), Nestorianism in Persia, and Monophysitism in Syria (the Jacobites) and Egypt and Ethiopia (the Copts). The causes of schism were as much political as religious. Persia and Rome were hereditary enemies; and African regionalism chafed under the dominance of Constantinople in the eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium). But there were theological differences as well. The sharpest controversy centered about the relationship between Christ's deity and his humanity. All agreed that He was both God and Man. But Nestorians were dyophysite ("two natures"), insisting that Christ had two separate natures, his humanity and his deity, and in terms of practical, ethical Christian living his humanity is perhaps even more important than his deity. The Monophysites ("one nature") replied that one person could have

only one nature and emphasized the primacy of Christ's deity for only a divine Saviour could rescue man from sin. The orthodox center (Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic) accepted a compromise formula, that of the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD): one Person in two natures, human and divine.

Beginning with two important councils in the early fifth century, the Church of the East (which only later was called Nestorian) developed its first national Persian organization (Synod of Seleucia, 410), and declared its independence from the authority of the western churches (Synod of Dadiso, 424). Then began its great expansion from Persia in all directions across Asia. It moved south into the deserts and had almost won Arabia for the faith by the time Mohammed was born. Christian Arab kings ruled in the north-east (Lakhmid), the south (Yemen), and the northwest (Ghassanid) which however was not Nestorian but at times orthodox and at times monophysite.

Most impressive of all the Nestorian missionary achievements was the advance of the faith east across the Asian heartland as far as China. As early as 498 the White Huns or Turks of Bactria (Afghanistan) had begun to turn Christian. A remarkable combination of evangelistic, educational and agricultural missions commended the Christian witness to the nomadic tribes of the Asian steppes and by the middle of the sixth century the Turkic chief was asking that the tribes be given their own bishops. By 781 they had their own archbishop. But already by then the wave of Nestorian missions had rolled on far beyond central Asia to reach the capital of China's mighty T'ang dynasty. In the year 635, while the successors of Mohammed (d. 632) were beginning to boil up out of the desert to conquer Persia, the first Christian Persian missionary, Alopen, entered Chang'an, was welcomed by the Emperor and asked to translate the sacred Christian books into Chinese. The Emperor Tai Tsung (627-650) even gave orders for the construction of the first Christian church in China in 638, and for the next two hundred years the church grew and established monasteries throughout the empire.

The history of T'ang dynasty Nestorian Christianity, the earliest church in northeast Asia, can be divided into six periods: (after J. Foster)

1. The first Christian mission to China (635-638 AD)
2. The early growth of the church in China (638-683)
3. First opposition and persecution (683-712)
4. Recovery of the church (712-763)
5. Period of greatest influence (763-832)
6. Disappearance of the Nestorians from China (832-980 AD)

It was in this period also that the Nestorians brought the ancient Thomas church of India into relationship with the Nestorian patriarch of Persia. Nestorian Christians fleeing from the great Persian persecution of 340-380 AD may have been the first point of contact, although there is a reference to a Persian bishop Dudi (or David) undertaking an Indian mission as early as 300 AD. But by about 450 AD Nestorian missionaries had firmly cemented the authority of the Persian patriarch in India and the language of the Indian church, like that of the Persian church, was Syriac. Even the island of Ceylon, reported a Nestorian traveler in the 6th century, Cosmas Indicopleustes, has a church and clergy "ordained and sent from Persia.. and a multitude of Christians".

III. RECOVERY IN THE WEST AND DECLINE IN THE EAST (800-1200 AD).

The third period of church history, if we divide it into 400 year periods, is from 800 to 1200. Winter describes it in terms of "Encounter with the Vikings; and Irregular Expansion". Latourette, who divides the periods differently (950-1350 AD), calls this era "The Rising Tide in the West". But looking at the world as a whole we might say that these were the 400 years when for the first time the balance between east and west in the Christian world shifted decisively to the west. The faith was born in Asia, and even after the conversion of Constantine remained significantly eastern, as is evidenced by the Christian emperor's decision to build his second capital in the east, in Constantinople. The fall of western Rome to the barbarians accentuated the dominance of the Christian east in spite of the church divisions in the east between Orthodox Byzantium (Constantinople), Monophysite Egypt (and Syria), and the Nestorians of Asia (from Persia and India to China).

The turning point in the shift from east to west came with the age of Charlemagne. When he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor on Christmas day, 800 AD, the west symbolically separated from the east, and the east declined. This is the age, then, when Europe recovered from the barbarian invasions, completed the conversion of the continent, and began to form a new "Christian" empire among the converted barbarians. It survived and absorbed a second wave of barbarian invasions from the north (the Vikings). Then, with new unity and identity and in the name of Christ, alas, it went to war, moving eastward to attack a post-Christian, Mohammedan Asia in the crusades. For this was also the age in which Christianity in Asia, the older home of the faith, almost disappeared.

A. The Carolingian Renaissance. Like a second Constantine, Charlemagne (d. 814) gave the west a Christian empire for the first time since the fall of Rome. But how can we say that the age of Charlemagne was a turn for the better? Someone has said that the Holy Roman Empire, which in a way he founded, was neither holy, nor Roman nor an empire. As an empire it broke up within 30 years of his death. It was German (and Frankish), not Roman. And its Christianity was often nominal, usually superstitious and occasionally cruel. Its success in missions largely depended either on force of arms or on foreigners, -the Celtic-influenced, Anglo-Saxon monks whom it steadily sought to replace with Roman bishops. Its morals were lamentable. Charles was no saint. When his fourth wife died, he was content with four concubines. (See H. Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire, and Milman's Hist. of Latin Christianity). In many ways, the Holy Roman Empire was a return to "modality" with all the weaknesses of that kind of ecclesiastical, centralized unity (as well as its advantages) and consequent loss of some of the puritan, missionary vitalities of the previous period.

Nevertheless, by contrast with what had been before, that is, the barbarism and savagery of pagan Europe, and with what came after, the Dark Ages, especially the "papal pornocracy" of the first half of the 10th century (to 960 AD), the age of Charlemagne was an age of church reform, an age of educational and theological recovery under his teacher, the great Alcuin, and compared with the seventeen popes of the "pornocracy" Charles was indeed almost a saint. It was also an age of missionary outreach. As his empire expanded, so did Christian missions. Even when his empire fell apart, the concept of a Christian west under two complementary and mutually supporting sovereigns (an emperor and a pope) refused to die. It was revived by Otto I of Saxony in 962 and though only partly successful was the major unifying ideal in Europe for a thousand years, until Napoleon in 1806 ended it.

B. The Viking Invasions and the Conversion of Scandinavia. Up to the year 800 when Germany was rapidly being Christianized, the far north was still isolated and unreached. Christian Europe paid dearly for its delay in reaching the savage Scandinavian tribes with the gospel, for suddenly it was inundated by waves of northern invaders. The Vikings had begun to raid England in the 790s, but the invasions began in furious earnest in 835. Ireland, cradle of Celtic Christian civilization was almost annihilated by the Norwegians. The Northmen (Normans) turned the coasts of France and Netherlands into desert. Then the tide turned. Alfred the Great stopped the Danish advance in England (878) though he had to turn over half of the island to the Vikings. There, however they began to turn Christian and in another century a Danish king of England, a Christian, Canute (1017-35) ruled a northern empire of Denmark, England and Norway like another Charlemagne. In France, Charlemagne's great-great grandson, Charles the Simple (893-923) gave the invading Normans much of northeastern France and began to turn them into Christian allies.

Moreover, the Christian faith began to make its way up into the Viking homelands. Olaf Trygvesson (995-1000), king of Norway, was converted on a visit to England and took English missionaries back with him to Norway; and when Norway broke away from Canute's Danish rule in 1015 and established its independence under another King Olaf (Haraldson, called "the Saint"), he too brought bishops and clergy from England and northern Germany and virtually forced his Norwegian people to become Christian. A typical chronicle entry of the time is "They were forced by this battle into a better disposition and immediately received Christianity" (Robinson, Conversion of Europe, p. 465). Sweden was the slowest of all the three countries to accept the new faith. Not until the middle of the 12th c. (the reign of King Sverker, 1130-55) could it be said that the Swedish church was firmly established. But already by then, despite the use of missionary methods which make us cringe even to read about, the spread of the Christian faith through the northlands had so changed the savage Vikings, reported the historian Adam of Bremen (d. 1076), that they had left their piracy and the long ships and had learned to love peace. (Ibid, p. 469).

C. The Crusades (1096-1271). The prevailing reliance on political and military means for Christian mission which we have seen as characteristic of this period led straight to the greatest missionary mistake in Christian history, the Crusades. From the first call of Pope Urban II in 1096 to the kings and princes of Christendom to drive the "accursed race" of infidels from the Holy Land, and the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 when the victorious Christian crusaders poured like wolves through the streets trampling on severed Moslem heads and riding through human blood that swirled above the fetlocks of their horses (see Harold Lamb, The Crusades, pp. 39 f., 236 f.), from that first crusade to the eighth and last in 1271, neither the motivation nor the method of this kind of Christian mission was anything but "irreparable disaster" (S. Neill, p. 173).

D. The Reform and Revival of the Church. Even the crusades were not all loss. Misdirected though they were into war and violence, they formed part of a revival of Christian zeal and moral and spiritual reform. In the darkest days of the "papal pornocracy", in 910 the Norman Duke William of Aquitaine and the monk Berno founded a monastery at Cluny dedicated to asceticism, spirituality and church reform. For two hundred years the movement spread, reviving the moral and spiritual power of the papacy itself, as under Leo IX (1049-54) and

even more strongly under Leo's adviser and eventual successor Hildebrand (Gregory VII, 1073-1085). Thus once again the reforming vitality of a "sodality" was instrumental in breathing new life into the churchly "modality". The spiritual power of a Hildebrand, skillfully exercised and organized in his capacity as pope, proved more than a match for the secular power of an emperor. At Canossa (1077) the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV stood barefoot and penitent in the snow for three days begging Hildebrand to release him from excommunication. (See Hildebrand's own account in Henderson, Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages, p. 386 ff.) This has been called "the most dramatic illustration in church history of the power of the church in the world. But as in the crusades, the use of spiritual power for temporal ends brings mixed results. In the end the good pope died in exile and the final resolution of the controversy between pope and emperor over which had authority to elect and invest bishops was a compromise. The Concordat of Worms (1122) ruled that both pope and emperor must approve the choice of bishops and abbots thus recognizing a touch of spiritual authority in the state, and of temporal power in the papacy.

E. The Decline of the Church in Asia.

1. Mohammedan mastery of western Asia. The four hundred years from 800 to 1200 saw the great Christian centers of the mid-east--Antioch, Edessa, Ctesiphon (and Baghdad) transformed from radiating centers of Christian mission to ingrown Christian ghettos in a Mohammedan sea. The ill-fated attempt of the crusades to rescue them only made their situation worse.

For more than a century after the Moslem conquest Nestorian Christians were treated with remarkable tolerance by the Ommayad dynasty (661-750 AD, but under the Abbasid Caliphs (750-c. 1100) repression gradually increased. Persecution flared for a time in the reign of a Moslem contemporary of Charlemagne, Haroun al-Rashid of Arabian Nights fame (786-809, when Christians were accused of alliance with Constantinople. By the end of the 10th c. (987) the Moslem Caliphs had taken from the Christian bishops the right of electing their Nestorian patriarch. The mad Caliph al-Hakim (1009-20) was the fiercest of the persecutors, forcing Christians he did not kill to wear five-pound wooden crosses around their necks. Far more effective than violence, was the steady pressure of persecution by taxation. Ever since the conquest the only escape for a Christian from the ever heavier financial harassment was conversion to Islam.

But the fate of the eastern church under the Moslems was, in the final analysis, the deliberate choice of the church and its people. What produced the withered ghettos of the Nestorians and Monophysites was not so much the sword of Islam as the law of Islam. The law permitted Christians to worship but forbade them to propagate their faith. Faced with a choice between survival and witness the churches of the east chose survival. They ceased to evangelize. They survived, but what survived was no longer a whole and living church.

2. The disappearance of the Nestorians in China. Some time between 800 and 1000 AD the Nestorian mission in China vanished almost without a trace. Of the various reasons usually given for their decline, the following are most persuasive: the defeat of the Uigurs, a strongly supportive tribe; the great anti-Buddhist persecution (848-67) which spilled over against Christians; and the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907. But the ultimate reason may have been inner weakness, not outer opposition: superstition, moral decline, syncretistic compromise with oriental religions and failure to develop Chinese leadership. But even as it disappeared in China, beginning about 1000 AD a new invigoration of the faith appeared in Central Asia among tribes destined to become the new dominant power of East Asia, the Mongols.

III. RECOVERY IN THE WEST AND DECLINE IN THE EAST (800-1200 AD).

The third period of church history, if we divide it into 400 year periods, is from 800 to 1200. Winter describes it in terms of "Encounter with the Vikings; and Irregular Expansion". Latourette, who divides the periods differently (950-1350 AD), calls this era "The Rising Tide in the West". But looking at the world as a whole we might say that these were the 400 years when for the first time the balance between east and west in the Christian world shifted decisively to the west. The faith was born in Asia, and even after the conversion of Constantine remained significantly eastern, as is evidenced by the Christian emperor's decision to build his second capital in the east, in Constantinople. The fall of western Rome to the barbarians accentuated the dominance of the Christian east in spite of the church divisions in the east between Orthodox Byzantium (Constantinople), Monophysite Egypt (and Syria), and the Nestorians of Asia (from Persia and India to China).

The turning point in the shift from east to west came with the age of Charlemagne. When he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor on Christmas day, 800 AD, the west symbolically separated from the east, and the east declined. This is the age, then, when Europe recovered from the barbarian invasions, completed the conversion of the continent, and began to form a new "Christian" empire among the converted barbarians. It survived and absorbed a second wave of barbarian invasions from the north (the Vikings). Then, with new unity and identity and in the name of Christ, alas, it went to war, moving eastward to attack a post-Christian, Mohammedan Asia in the crusades. For this was also the age in which Christianity in Asia, the older home of the faith, almost disappeared.

A. The Carolingian Renaissance. Like a second Constantine, Charlemagne (d. 814) gave the west a Christian empire for the first time since the fall of Rome. But how can we say that the age of Charlemagne was a turn for the better? Someone has said that the Holy Roman Empire, which in a way he founded, was neither holy, nor Roman nor an empire. As an empire it broke up within 30 years of his death. It was German (and Frankish), not Roman. And its Christianity was often nominal, usually superstitious and occasionally cruel. Its success in missions largely depended either on force of arms or on foreigners, -the Celtic-influenced, Anglo-Saxon monks whom it steadily sought to replace with Roman bishops. Its morals were lamentable. Charles was no saint. When his fourth wife died, he was content with four concubines. (See H. Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire, and Milman's Hist. of Latin Christianity). In many ways, the Holy Roman Empire was a return to "modality" with all the weaknesses of that kind of ecclesiastical, centralized unity (as well as its advantages) and consequent loss of some of the puritan, missionary vitalities of the previous period.

Nevertheless, by contrast with what had been before, that is, the barbarism and savagery of pagan Europe, and with what came after, the Dark Ages, especially the "papal pornocracy" of the first half of the 10th century (to 960 AD), the age of Charlemagne was an age of church reform, an age of educational and theological recovery under his teacher, the great Alcuin, and compared with the seventeen popes of the "pornocracy" Charles was indeed almost a saint. It was also an age of missionary outreach. As his empire expanded, so did Christian missions. Even when his empire fell apart, the concept of a Christian west under two complementary and mutually supporting sovereigns (and emperor and a pope) refused to die. It was revived by Otto I of Saxony in 962 and though only partly successful was the major unifying ideal in Europe for a thousand years, until Napoleon in 1806 ended it.

Holt Adoption Program, Inc.

IPO Box 2536

Seoul, Korea

Phones: 73-3682, 73-9895



Harry Holt, Founder

"The Children whom the Lord hath given"---Isa. 6:18

1200 - 1600

1050-1250 med - social determinism - explain 1774. 12th c Renaissance.
#50. - mi & remedies
experience of feudal monarch: Rom H. F. R. p. 131
intellectual excitement

13th c. - the world of the nomads open (as in 7th c.).

Neill

- ② The Dark Age 500-1000 --
- ③ Early European Expansion 1000-1500.
- ④ The Age of Discovery 1500-1600.

Holy Roman Empire - symbol of unity
of the western world

Orders of Friars - Dominican & Franciscans replace the monasteries as agents of mission.

Francis (1181-1226)	in 1200, 19 yrs. old.
Dominic (1170-1221)	" 30 yrs. old
Yusif Khan (-1227)	"
Innocent III (ca 1198-1216)	" pop. h 2 yrs.
John & Marco Carpini (1180-)	" 2 yrs. old.

c. 1300 - Dominicans from "the company of brethren dwelling in foreign parts among the heathen for the sake of Christ." (Neill, p. 117).

1274 Ilkhan Abaga sent envoys to Council of Lyons, temporary union betw. E. & W.
1287 Rabban Sauma in Rome.

1313 - second RC center, with bp. at Chuanchow (Tsinkiang), just n. of Amoy.

1200-1600 AD

IV. Recovery in Asia, and Expansion from the West. (1200-1600 AD)

A. Reappearance and Fall of the Nestorians among the Mongols (1000 - 1105 A.D.).

The disappearance of Christianity from China at the end of the great Tang dynasty in the tenth century was not as fatal a blow to Asiatic Christianity as it might appear. For at this very time a new invigoration of the faith appeared in Central Asia among tribes who were destined to become the new dominant power of East Asia. These were the Mongols.

In the early eleventh century Nestorian missionaries began to convert the Keraites, a Turkish tribe in Central Asia, and through them reached out toward the distant Mongols in the far northeast. (Mongols and Turks, it will be remembered, are related tribal groups, distinguished principally by language differences).

About 1000 A.D. the prince of the Keraites asked for Christian baptism, and by the twelfth or thirteenth century the whole tribe was considered Christian. Already by that time the Keraites had been brought by their cousins, the Mongols, into the tribal confederation that the great Mongol Conqueror Jenghiz Khan (b. 1162) was beginning to mould into the most warlike Empire the world has ever known. It is in this period that the Mongols first became a political entity, and in the organization of the confederation the Keraites were greatly influential. Through them, it is thought, Nestorianism made its influence felt.

Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky credits Nestorians with shaping some of Jenghiz Khan's laws, i.e. the Yassak, or "Ten Commandments" of Mongols. The first law, for example, reads; "All men are to believe in one God, Creator of Heaven and earth. Other laws forbid adultery. Drunkenness, however was tolerated. "Get drunk only three times a month. It would be better not to do so at all, but who can abstain altogether," said the commandment, reflecting perhaps a not un-Nestorian toleration of alcohol, if critical reports of 13th century Roman Catholic missionaries are not biased. (See Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, Russian and Asia. N.Y. Macmillan, 1933. p. 17)

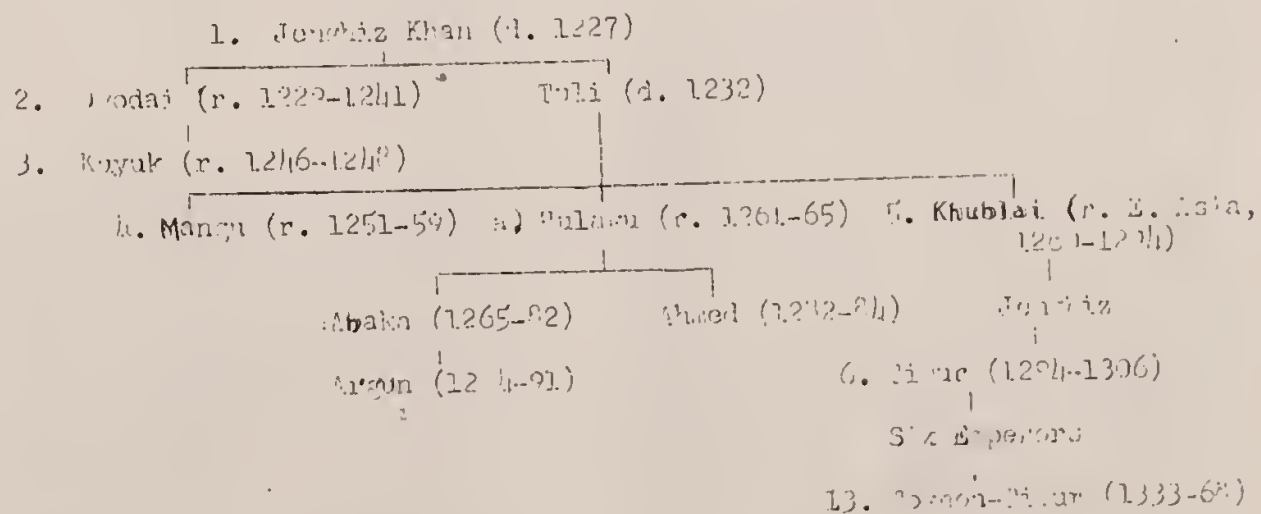
Part of the Kerait influence at the Mongol court was through royal marriage. Jenghiz Khan, to strengthen his position as ruler of the Mongols, married one of his sons, ^{emperor: Mongu Khan, Khubilai} Tuli, to a Kerait princess, a Nestorian Christian. She became the mother of ^{emperor: Mongu Khan, Khubilai} Khan and Hulagu Khan. (A. W. Rockhill, The Journey of William of Rubruk to the Eastern Parts, 1253-57..., Lond. Journal Soc. 1900, n. p. 222; and F. W. Coule, Christians in China before 1250 A.D., p. 1).

The journals of the early Franciscan missionaries to China are full of references to Nestorian influence at the court of the Mongols. In 1246 when John of Pian de Carpi reached the Emperor Mubek Khan (son of Ogolai, son of Jenghiz) (1246-1248) with a letter from the Pope, he found that Mubek

had surrounded himself with Christians who were assured that the Emperor would soon turn Christian (i.e. Nestorian) himself. His personal clerks were Nestorian, and a Nestorian chapel was placed in front of the royal tent, with public chants and the beating of tablets loudly taking place at appointed hours. (W.W. Rockhill, op. cit. p. 29)

Some years later, in 1253, the second Roman Catholic envoy, William of Rubruck, reached the Mongol court at Karakorum. Mangi Khan (1251-1259), son of Tuli, was now Emperor. His mother was the Kerait princess, Soyorghactani-bagi, whom Jenghiz had married to his son Tuli. Rubruck found that the capital had twelve heathen temples, two Mohammedan mosques, and one Nestorian church (Rockhill, op. cit. p. 221). The claim that Mangi was actually baptized by an Armenian bishop, attributed to Haithon (Sin. Orient. p. 38f.) who dates the event in 1253 when the Armenian King, Heythum I, visited the Mongol court, is disputed by Rockhill. (op. cit. p. 239) In all of Rubruck's contacts with the Great Khan, Mangi, notably in the famous debate before the court between Manichees, Moslems, Nestorians and Rubruck, representing Roman Catholicism, the Emperor only listened tolerantly. He gave no sign of conversion. In fact, afterwards he confided his own faith to Rubruck as follows: "We...believe there is only one God...but as God gives us the different fingers of the hand, so he gives to men divers ways..." His parting word was almost a confession that his basic faith remained shamanist. "God gave you the Scriptures," he said, "and you do not keep them; he gave us diviners, we do what they tell us, and we live in peace." (Rockhill, op. cit. pp. 230 ff., esp. 235, 236)

The reigns of the three brothers (Mangi, Pulama and Khublai), from 1251 to 1294 A.D., marked the high point of Nestorianism in the Yuan Empire, and under Khublai it was brought back into China. The following dynastic chart indicates the central position of this period in the dynastic history:



The Keraits were not the only important Nestorian influence in Mongol China. Three of the powerful Mongol tribes were in large part Christian. The Keraits, as has been noted, were in high offices in the courts of Jenghiz, Ogodai and Hangu, thanks to their marriage connection with the Khans. The Onguts were another tribe with a large concentration of Christians. They were strategically important for their control of the major land routes between China and Mongolia. A third tribe, the Turkish Uighurs, were still militarily significant and had been converted by the Nestorians in considerable numbers since the days of the Tang dynasty.

Sometime around the year 1270, with the defeat of Sung China, Khublai Khan became Emperor of China and moved his capital from Karakorum in Mongolia to Cambaluc (Peking). With him the Nestorians came back into China to reestablish their archbishopric in the capital, and in Khublai's reign Chinese Nestorianism reached its apex of international significance, and for the first time Nestorian missions became a two-way process with the east sending its missions to the west.

About 1275 A.D., Mark (b. 1245), son of a Uighur archdeacon, and his friend, another Nestorian named Rabban Sauma, left Peking for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Stopping on the way at the Nestorian Patriarchate in Baghdad, they visited some of the ancient Nestorian holy places--Arbela, and Misibis, site of the ancient theological seminary. When troubled political conditions prevented them from proceeding to Jerusalem, they decided to stay in Persia rather than return to China, although the Patriarch urged Mark to go back and offered him the position of Metropolitan (Archbishop) of China. Mark finally consented, and was consecrated archbishop in 1279 A.D. at the age of 35. But the "young, handsome, dagger-wielding" prelate was destined never to see his homeland again. For more than two years he tried to cross the high roads of Asia, but wars blocked his passage. In the meantime, the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church had died, and unexpectedly the high council chose as his successor the stranger from far-off China. He was shocked. "I cannot even speak Syriac (the language of the church)," he said. But the wise Nestorians who had lived successively under Roman, Persian and Arab conquerors, knew that in the 13th century it was the Mongols who ruled the world, and they were therefore determined for political reasons to have a Mongol Patriarch.

Their wisdom was soon apparent. In 1257 Khublai Khan, ruler in the east, acting on the advice of the Ilkhan Arghun, ruler in the west, appointed the Patriarch's Chinese friend and companion, the bishop Rabban Sauma, to represent the Mongols on a diplomatic mission to Rome and Paris. Once again the star of the Nestorian Church had risen high, as the bishop from the east met with dignity the kings of the west, Philip the Fair of France, and Edward the I of England.

Politics, however, are an uncertain base at best for power and stability in the Christian church, and the Nestorians who had pinned their hopes for revival to the Mongol Emperors were not to enjoy the results of political favor for long.

The immediate results of close connections with the Western Khans in Persia and Syria gave a temporary illusion of a return to Nestorian power. Under Arghun, who died in 1291, and under his two brothers who succeeded him, Kaikhata (1291-95) and Baiju (1295), the Mongol Patriarchate had great influence. The government gave lavishly to the building of magnificent Nestorian churches, particularly in and around Baghdad. But none of the Khans was actually converted or baptized. When Baiju died soon after he ascended the throne, his successor was Kaikhata's son, Ghazan. And Ghazan was an ardent Moslem.

Swiftly the prospects of the Nestorians in Persia changed. Churches were destroyed by the Moslems. The Patriarch, Mongol though he was, did not escape arrest. Hung up, head downward, with a handkerchief full of ashes over his mouth, he almost suffocated and barely escaped with his life. Intermittent persecution continued for years. Only the friendship of a Christian queen saved him. When churches were rebuilt, they were quickly destroyed again. Christians were heavily taxed. The Mongol Patriarch, Marik, known as Mar Yabballaha III, who had been crowned at Mar Keka near Baghdad on Nov. 2, 1261 with such high hopes of political success, died amidst widespread persecution in 1317 A.D. The Nestorians never again came back to power. (See W. E. Noble, Christians in China before 1550 A.D., pp. 94-127)

Persecuted by the last of the Ilkhans in Persia, and only tolerated by the Great Khans in Peking, the Nestorians did not survive the break-up of the Mongol Empire. In Persia the rule of the Mongols crumbled after 1335, and the Moslems once more took over the Near East.

In China, where a report about 1330 A.D. declared that there were more than 30,000 Nestorians in Cathay, the Mongol Emperors fell to the victorious Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368, and the Nestorians fell with them. Peking was almost destroyed, and in the massacres that followed, all that had connection with the Mongols was rooted out. "With the Mongols vanished their protectors, the foreigners," writes Michael Prawdin, in his The Mongol Empire. "The Christian settlements and the Mohammedan colonies were destroyed, the bishoprics ceased to exist, the priests were murdered, even the cemeteries were despoiled." (M. Prawdin, The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy, London, Allen Lane, 1940, p. 388). The key word in the above sentence, perhaps, is "foreigner". After seven hundred years in China, the Nestorians were still foreigners--not Syrians, then Keraites and Uighurs and Mongols. But not Chinese. Because they had failed to win the Chinese to Christ, they vanished from China almost without a trace.

William of Rubruck, in his melancholy description of Nestorians at the court of the 13th century Khans suggests why they had lost the power to convert. As a Roman Catholic he perhaps exaggerates Nestorian weaknesses, but

from the picture he presents it is questionable whether Mongolian Nestorianism was any longer really Christian. "In fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians," he writes, about 1254 A.D. "(They) know nothing. For they say their service and have sacred books in Surian (a language of which they are ignorant) from which they sing just like uneducated monks amongst ourselves; and in this way they have become wholly corrupt. First they are usurers and drunkards. Some of them also, who live with the Tartars, have several wives like the Tartars. When they go into church they wash their lower limbs like the Saracens. They eat flesh on Friday.. A bishop comes out rarely in that land--scarcely once perhaps in fifty years. They cause all their boys, even in the cradle, to be ordained priests, so that almost all their men are priest, and after that they marry, which thing is plainly contrary to the decrees of the Fathers; and they commit bigamy, for even the priest marry a second wife when the first is dead. They are also given to simony, administering no sacrament without a fee. They are concerned for their wives and children so they strive not for the spread of the faith but for gain. And so it comes to pass that when any of them bring up some of the sons of the Moal (Mongol) nobles, although they teach them the Gospel and the faith, yet by their evil life and covetousness they still more estrange them from the Christian religion; for the lives of the Moals themselves.. are more innocent than their lives." (Rubruck, in Rockhill, op. cit. pp. 157-159)

So completely did Christianity disappear with the fall of the Mongols that it is not clear what really happened to the Christians. Most of what was left of the Mongols became Buddhist. So, too, probably did the Nestorians in China. In Persia and Central Asia the Mongols became Moslem. Timur (Tamerlane, 1336-1405 A.D.), last of the Mongol conquerors rode out of his capital in Samarkand and butchered Nestorians all across Central Asia and Persia. Only a few sockets found refuge in the high mountains and survived, notably in Kurdistan (Assyria), where some remnants exist to this day.

D. Beginnings of Roman Catholic Missions in Asia.

Bibliography (for Moncol Period)

The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts, 1253-55, as narrated by himself, with two accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine, tr. and ed. by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1900. (Hakluyt Soc.)

Henry Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China. Rev. ed. by Henri Cordier. 4 vols. London 1912-13)

K. S. Latourette. A History of Christian Missions in China. N.Y. 1929

A. S. Latourette. The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 400-1500. vol. 2 in History of the Expansion of Christianity. N.Y. 1930

1. Roman Catholic Christians under the Mongols (1200-1300).

About the middle of the 12th century ^{the Mongols} reports began to filter into Europe from Asia--reports about a mysterious Christian king beyond the falling empire of the Arabs and the rising power of the Fearful Turks. Otto of Freising, the greatest historian of the Middle Ages and no credulous believer in wonderful tales (he rejected the Donation of Constantine as a forgery, for example), records in his Chronicon (vii, 35) the report of a Syrian bishop visiting Italy in 1145 that "a certain John, who lives beyond Persia and Armenia in the extreme Orient, a king, and a priest and a Christian with his whole nation, though a Nestorian," had defeated the king of Persia, burned his capital (Sbatana) and had been stopped from advancing on Jerusalem only by the broad, uncrossable waters of the Tigris river (quoted in Yule-Cordier, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 10, from Germania Historica Illustrata, etc. Christiani Urbsis Basiliensis, 1507).

This was electrifying news to 12th century Catholic Europe. The Second Crusade (1147-48) was going badly and would end in complete disaster. Jerusalem which had been won and held by the Crusaders at such great cost would fall back to Saladin and his Moslems in 1187. Richard the Lion-hearted of England, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany and Philip Augustus of France would try and fail to recapture it in the most ambitious crusade of all, the Third (1189-92). Yet here from the other end of the world came persistent reports that a king, called Prester John, at the head of Christian armies from Asia was accomplishing what the greatest knights and kings of western Christendom had so tragically failed to do--defeat the Saracens.

Discouraged western Christians eagerly believed and spread

the story that help was on its way in the person of Prester John. But the great deliverer was difficult to locate. In 1177 the Pope (Alexander III) heard of a Christian King in India (or Abyssinia, some said), and this king, too, was identified as Prester John (Yule-Jordier, p. 17, quoting Baronius). He still did not appear, but the hope lingered on.

Then came the 13th century, which like the 1st and the 7th, was another explosive turning point in human history. Far off on the Asian horizon like a yellow cloud of dust out of the Gobi Desert, the golden horde of Genghis Khan began to ride across the roof of the world. Hope flickered in the West once more, but as the short, thick-set, blood-drinking, Mongol horstads crossed across the Volga in 1222 to butcher the princes of Southern Russia, that hope collapsed. These were not the Christian soldiers of Prester John. These were the armies of Antichrist, lords of the East, the mediaeval scientist, and some people prepared for the end of the world. (A. W. Hockhill, Journey of St. Francis to the East, quoting Matthew of Paris, Chronica Majora, iii, 488; and Bacon's Opus Majus, i, 338 on the second Mongol Invasion)

And yet, in the providence of God, the fearful Mongol invasions of the 13th century opened the road to Asia for missions from the West as it had never been open before since the days of the apostles. In the days of Rome it had been blocked by the Persian Empire, then again the 7th century by the Arabs, and finally by the Turks. For at last it was opened, not by Western crusaders and not by an Asian Prester John but by an explosive new power rising in the East.

Let us review briefly the world of the 1st century. In the 1st century, you will remember, three great powers dominated the earth--the Roman Empire in the West, the Persian Empire in the center, and China in the far East. The explosive new factor in that first century was Imperial Rome. In the 7th century the picture practically altered. Four great power centers now began to dominate the world. One was swelling up in Northern Europe and would take a vaguely imperial form as the Holy Roman Empire. The second was that old left of old Rome, the Eastern Empire of Byzantium at Constantinople. The third was the Arab Caliphate in Baghdad, which had defeated Persia. And the fourth was still China, entering the golden age of the T'ang dynasty. The rough new power factor in the 7th century was the rise of the Arabs, following Mohammed. Now in the 13th century the emergence of still another new power shakes the world, and the world is divided in three again: Christian Europe in the West (Byzantium begins to fade); Islam in the center, blocked from entering Europe but keeping Europe out of Asia; and in the East, rising out of Central Asia, the Mongols. As so often in dissonant history, times of ferment and change proved to be openings for the gospel: in the first century, the work of the apostles; in the 7th, Nestorian expansion into East Asia; and in the 13th, the beginnings of some Catholic missions in Asia.

It was the first stirrings of the time of change that had probably given rise to the story of Prester John. As early as 1000 A.D. a revival of Nestorianism in Central Asia began to win thousands of converts among the Uighurs, Keraites, Kerkits and Onguts. In the next century the northeastern tribes moved against the borders of the Sung dynasty. A northern Manchurian tribe, the Jurchen, conquered the Khitans who then ruled Manchuria and parts of northern Korea, and set up a rival dynasty which they called China (1117-1234), pushing the Sung Empire south out of northern China. One group of the defeated Khitans moved west into what is now Sinkiang and Turkestan. In 1141 they met and defeated a Persian (Seljuk Turk) army which was resisting their westward advance, and they set up a new western Chinese empire called Kara-Khitay (or Black Cathay) which lasted for almost 100 years (1124-1211) in the Tarim River basin south of Lake Balkash stretching from Samarkand and Kashgar to Lop Nor. This was the territory of the Christianized Uighurs and Haimans. It was probably the report of the defeat of Sanjas, the Mohammedan Sultan of Persia, by the Khitan king of Black Cathay, Yelü Tashi (or Tushi Talgun), which filtered into Europe in 1145 and gave rise to the legend of Prester John. Yelü Tashi was not Christian, but many of his subjects were, and at least he had defeated the Mohammedans. (See H. Howorth, Hist. of the Mongols, Part I, pp. 5-7).

All this was only prelude to the storm to come. About twenty years after the defeat of the Persian Sultan (i.e. about 1162) a Mongol child was born east of Black Cathay near Lake Baikal where the Orkhon and Serenge Rivers flow together. It is about as remote an area as one could find, about half way between Irkutsk and Ulan Bator. The child's name was Temujin and as Genghis Khan he changed the map of the world. His great achievement was that for the first and only time in history he united the fierce, nomadic tribes of northern Asia and hammered them into a cohesive political and military organization. They held together for only 150 years but the world has never seen another army like it.

Genghis Khan took Peking in 1215, and three years later his cavalry swept into northern Korea, taking the western Capital, Pyongyang. Then suddenly they turned west and in one of the most stupendous forced marches of all time poured across Asia. Black Cathay fell. The Mongols crossed the towering Pamirs that separate East from West Asia and the Persian-Turkish state of Khwarizmia was swallowed up. That was Mohammedan territory, and in Europe the legend of Prester John came back to life. In 1223 they defeated a Russian army under the Prince of Kiev and Europe beyond the Volga was open to them, but they drew back. In 1227 Genghis died. His youngest son, Tule, was appointed regent until the election of a new Khan. And Tule's wife was the Nestorian princess Sorocan of the Kerait tribe.

While Asia waited for the election of a successor, Europe

relaxed, thinking the storm was over. But the worst was yet to come. A second Mongol invasion after the election of Ogodaï as Khakhan swept into Europe in 1238 laying it utterly waste from the Baltic to the Danube. Poland, Lithuania, Silesia, Moravia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary were almost depopulated in great swathes of conquest. The Mongol forces, taking Budapest, poised for the annihilation of Austria, when a dusty courier spurring his way all across Asia brought word that Ogodaï was dead, and the descendants of Genghis Khan were summoned back for the election of a new leader. Again, as in 1227 the death of a Khan saved Europe.

This time the West took the new conquerors more seriously. The Pope, always eager to assert both his temporal and spiritual leadership of Christendom, tried to rally Europe both militarily and ecclesiastically to avert disaster. The disasters of the Fourth (1202), Fifth (1218) and Sixth (1228) Crusades which only turned Christians against Christians and sacked the Christian city of Constantinople but left Jerusalem to the Moslems had shocked Europe and discredited the whole crusading enterprise, but Pope Innocent IV tried to proclaim a Crusade to save Hungary from the new "envoys of Satan", the Mongols. At the same time, in a more positive way, he turned to a more powerful force than the sword and sent out the first of a series of Christian missions. If the Mongols cannot be conquered, he thought, perhaps they can be converted, or at least brought into an alliance with Christendom against a common enemy, the Moslems.

Providentially, missionary revival had already begun in the Roman church. Two potentially great new missionary orders had only recently been founded, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. They are called mendicant orders and added a new dimension to traditional monasticism, an explicit insistence on preaching and mission to those outside the church. They were missionary and evangelistic.

Francis of Assisi has been called "the first to make the ideal of missionary service an integral part of the religious life." He not only organized his Franciscans, beginning about 1210, around that ideal, he went as a missionary himself to the Moslems during the Fifth Crusade where he was grieved and disillusioned by the vices and lack of spiritual motives of the crusaders. As the order grew after the death of Francis in 1226, Francis' missionaries became the backbone of Roman Catholic outreach in Asia, particularly among the Mongols in Russia and China. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, reports Latourette, the Franciscans had seventeen stations in the Mongol-ruled parts of Russia; with several bishoprics and two archbishoprics (Latour. Hist. of Christianity, p. 582 f.). But more important were their missions to the center of Mongol power in Central Asia and China.

In the next hundred years, from 1242 to 1342 seven or eight different Catholic missions, partly political and partly religious, were sent on the long and difficult journey across Asia to the Mongols.

Most of the missionaries were Franciscan, with a scattering of Dominicans. "'Tis worthy of the grateful remembrance of all Christian people," wrote Ricold of Montecroce, "that just at the time when God sent south into the eastern parts of the world the Tartars to slay and be slain, He also sent forth in the west his faithful and blessed servants Dominic and Francis, to enlighten, instruct and build up in the Faith." (quoted in Yule-Cordier, Cathay and the way Thither... vol. 1, p. 155).

Here is a listing of the first major missionary ventures of the friars into Asia in the hundred years that the way remained open, from 1245 to 1346:

1. Friar John of Pian de Carpine, (1245-1247). Franciscan.
2. Friar Lawrence of Portugal, (1245?) Franciscan.
3. Friar Anselm of Lombardy, (1247-1250). Dominican.
4. Friar Andrew of Longumeau, (1249-1251). Dominican.
5. Friar William of Rubruck, (1253-1255). Franciscan.
6. The Polo brothers:
 - a. First journey, without missionaries, (1260-1269).
 - b. Second journey, with Marco & missionaries, (1271-1295).
7. John of Montecorvino, (1291-1328). Franciscan.
8. Reinforcements for the Franciscan mission, (1307, 1311).
9. Friar Odoric of Pordenone, (1322-1323).
10. John of Marignolli, (1342-1346).

Friar John of Pian de Carpine (the name is also given as Plano Carpini, etc.). In April 1245 Pope Innocent organized two missions to the Mongols and entrusted them to the Franciscans. The most important one, to the Mongols in Russia, was entrusted to John of Pian de Carpine, a direct disciple of Francis of Assisi who finally delivered the papal letter not to the Mongol commander in Russia but to the Great Khan, Kuyuk Khan (grandson of Jenghiz) near the Mongol capital of Caracorum in Mongolia. The purpose, as we have noted was two-fold: politically to avert the Mongol onslaughts on Christendom, and spiritually, to preach Christianity to them.

John's route took him first through familiar Christian territory, to Germany, Bohemia, Poland and on to Kiev in Russia on the Dnieper which had been captured and destroyed by the Mongols seven years before. From there they moved into the unknown. Not even their horses could live beyond Kiev, they were told. They must have Mongol horses which could find fodder under the snow. It had already taken them ten months ^(to Kiev) to come this far. Two weeks out of Kiev they were suddenly halted by Mongols. Questioned closely about their purpose, the missionaries answered that they were "envoys of the Lord Pope who was the lord and father of Christians" who had sent them to the King of the Tartars "because he desired that all Christians should be friends of the Tartars and at peace with them. Moreover, as he wished they they should be mighty with God in heaven, he, the Lord Pope, advised them..that they should become Christians and receive the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ for otherwise they could not be saved." The envoys went on boldly to rebuke the Mongols for killing so many people, especially Christians, and their own subjects, Hungarians, Moravians and Poles, who had done them no harm. (Rubrick-Richthoff, pp 5, 6)

Carpini's orders directed him to deliver the Pope's letter to the chief Mongol prince in Russia. That was Batu, conqueror of eastern Europe, eldest son of Jenghiz's oldest son, and ruler of the Golden Horde, the far western division of the Mongols. The Mongols in the first camp hurried the papal messengers on for another month through the frozen wastes before they reached the edge of Batu's camp on the Volga. It was a city of tents so large that it took Carpini a whole hour to ride from the edge of camp to Batu's tent. There he had to pass through two fires, a superstitious observance that was thought to strip him of any evil power that might hurt the chief, before they were admitted to the great tent, which had once belonged to the King of Hungary. Each of his 26 wives had a great tent of her own. Batu refused to receive the papal letter, but said it must be delivered to the Great Khan in Mongolia, and keeping all the rest of the party as hostage, he sent just the two missionaries, Pian de Carpine and Benedict the Pole, off to the unknown east. "We started out most tearfully," writes Carpine, "not knowing whether we were going to life or death. We were furthermore so feeble that we could hardly ride; during the whole of that lent our only food had been millet with salt and water..." (Rubruk-Rockhill, p. 11).

By about the middle of May, after riding for 7 weeks through the territory of the Golden Horde, they came to the edge of Batu's territory on the Aral Sea, and entered the territory of Jenghiz's second son, Jagatai (d. 1241), land formerly belonging to the Khwarizmanian Empire (Moslem) and the Kara-Khitay Empire among the Christianized Uighurs and Naimans, though Carpine flatly calls them "pagans". This would be on the Sino-Mongolian side of the roof of Asia. It took more than 2 months of hard, painful riding from the edge of Batu's realm to the Mongol capital at Karakorum, which they reached on July 22. There they found that a new Great Khan had been elected, Kuyuk, son of Ogodai, son of Jenghiz,--not Batu, the oldest of Jenghiz's surviving descendants; the two were rivals--. So at the enthronement of Kuyuk in the providence of God, among the 4000 envoys--a "Seljuk Sultan, Grand Prince Yaroslav of Russia, Princes from China and Korea, from Fars and Kirmin, from Georgia, from Aleppo, great dignitaries from the Caliphate, emissaries from the rulers of the Assassins, all in their splendid robes... were the two Franciscan friars over whose plain brown habit there had also been placed ceremonial robes..." So the Pope's letter came to the hands of the most powerful ruler in the world, and Kuyuk Khan kept them waiting a month for an answer. But they did have an audience with Kuyuk, his first since his enthronement, and were asked if they wished to make him any presents. Looking across the valley they saw more than 500 carts "all full of gold and silver and silken gowns", presents for the Khan, but embarrassedly had to confess they had used up everything on the journey and had nothing to give him. (Rubruk-Rockhill, p. 24).

One bit of news, however, filled them with excitement. They found that the Emperor was constantly attended by Christians (Nestorians), and some of the Christians in his household told Carpine "that they firmly believed he was about to become a Christian." As evidence of this, Carpine adds, "he keeps Christian clerks and gives them allowances, and he has

and he has always the chapel of the Christians in front of his great tent, and (these priests) chant publicly and openly and beat (a tablet) according to the fashion of the Greeks at appointed hours just like other Christians..." (Rubruck-Rockhill, p. 29)

When the two friars left for the long return journey, the Khan proposed sending his own ambassadors with them. Carpine discouraged this. His reasons are revealing. First, he said, "we feared they would see the dissensions and wars among us". Second, we feared they would be spies. And third, we feared they would be killed in Europe, "as our people for the most part are arrogant and hasty". The missionaries did not want to expose the weaknesses of Western Christendom to the Mongols. (Ibid)

The missionaries returned to the Pope in Lyons with optimistic news of the possibility of a conversion of the Mongols. Unknown to them, the Great Khan's letter of reply which they carried was a proud and chilling warning of precisely the opposite. Perhaps because of its negative nature it was never made public, and was unknown to historians until the 19th century and only recently has the original become available. It reads, in part, as follows:

"By the power of the Eternal Heaven, We are the all-embracing Khan of the United Great Nations. It is our command:

This is a decree, sent to the great Pope that he may know and pay heed. After holding counsel with the monarchs under your suzerainty, you have sent us an offer of subordination which we have accepted.... (You) should come in person with the monarchs to pay us homage and we should thereupon instruct you concerning the commands of the Yasak (Code of laws).

You have said it would be well for us to become Christians. You write to me in person about this matter,.. This your request we cannot understand. Furthermore, you have written me these words: 'You have attacked all the territories of the Magyars and other Christians, at which I am astonished. Tell me, what was their crime?' These your words we likewise cannot understand. Jenghiz Khan and Ogatai Khan revealed the commands of Heaven. Those of whom you speak showed themselves highly presumptuous and slew our envoys. Therefore, in accordance with the commands of the Eternal Heaven the been slain.. If not by the command of Heaven, how can anyone slay or conquer out of his own strength?

And when you say: 'I am a Christian. I pray to God. I arraign and despise others,' how do you know who is pleasing to God and to whom He allots His grace?

Thanks to the power of the Eternal Heaven, all lands have been given us us from sunrise to sunset... Now,..you in person at the head of the monarchs, all of you without exception, must come to tender us service and pay us homage...."

This was not the reply of a king about to become Christian. It chilled the Pope but it did not stop the missionaries.

Friar Lawrence of Portugal (1245 ?). At the same time that the Pope sent John of Pian de Carpine to the Mongols in Russia (from where he was sent to Mongolia), he sent another envoy to try to make contact with the other wing of the Mongol advance south into Asia Minor. Upon the death of Jenghiz the Empire had been divided among his sons (the heartland, Mongolia, to Ogodai; Eastern Mongolia, parts of Manchuria and China, to Tuli; Russia and Europe to his grandson Batu; and Kara-Khitai down into Asia Minor to Jagatai). All were subject, however, to the Great Khan elected from among them, Ogodai. By 1245 Jagatai had sent his generals sweeping out of Khwarizmia, which was his inherited territory, into Persia and Asia Minor. It was to one of these generals that Father Lawrence was sent but the mission was apparently unsuccessful, since nothing more is heard of it in any documents.

Friar Anselm of Lombardy (1247-1250). More is known of the Pope's second mission to Asia Minor, but it was no more successful than Friar Lawrence's. This time he sent a Dominican, Friar Anselm (or Ezzelino, or Ascellin). It was an attempt to avert the threat of another invasion of Europe which Carpine had brought back as the message of Kuyuk Khan. Anselm went to the Mongol General Baidju (Baichu) who had conquered Persia and Armenia. But he was the wrong man for the mission. He belittled the Mongols and said he had never heard of the Khan but they had better become Christians, stop killing innocent people and receive the word of the Pope "who is placed high above all the kings and princes of the world, and who is honoured by them as their Lord and Father". The Mongols laughed him to scorn. "How many countries has the Pope conquered?" they asked. Anselm refused to kneel before Baidju, he only bowed slightly. The Mongols, angered, debated whether to kill him alone, or his whole embassy. Some suggested they kill him, skin him, stuff the skin with chaff and send it back to the Pope. Baidju himself thought it would be enough to simply cut off his head, but his wife persuaded him not to, for there were rumors of a change in command in the Mongol court, and they waited word from Mongolia. The messenger, when he arrived, suggested the envoys simply be sent back, which was done, with a rude message to the Pope. (M. Frawdin, Mongol Empire, pp. 282-285) (Prim. Sec.: Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum Majorum, bk. 29-31)

Friar Andrew of Longumeau (1249-1251). However, before the papal envoy, Anselm, returned in 1250 with so harsh a reply from the Mongols, a completely different story had been brought to Europe by none other than envoys from the Mongols themselves. In Sapta This was more a diplomatic than missionary contact, for it was between the Mongol General of Persia and King Louis IX of France (St. Louis). In 1248 King Louis was in Cyprus en route to his crusade against Egypt. In December two envoys came to him with a letter from Ilchikadai the Mongol general. Both were Nestorian Christians (Frawdin, p. 296). And the ~~letter~~ ^{envoys} bore the astonishing news that much of the Mongol Empire seemed about to become Christian. They said that the Pope was famous among the Mongols; that the Mother of the Great Khan was a Christian; that the greatest princes had been converted; and that even the Great Khan, if he had not already done so (one report indicated he had been converted by a Saracen bishop named Mallechise--Rockhill, p. xxvii) was himself about to become a Christian. The letter wished the king success in his coming battle with the Moslems.

Enormously pleased by this unexpected good news, King Louis at once sent a return mission not just to the Mongol general in Persia but also all the way to Kuyuk Khan to encourage him in his reported intention to become a Christian, and to that end prepared costly presents including a tent-chapel of scarlet cloth embroidered with scenes from the life of Jesus "to show him what he must believe". Most precious of all (in St. Louis's eyes) he sent him a splinter of the "true cross". The man chosen to lead the mission as ambassador was Friar Andrew of Longumeau, a Dominican missionary to the Near East who spoke Arabic and who had been a member of Anselm's unsuccessful mission to Baidju (Rockh. p. xxvii f.)

Andrew set out for the court of the Great Khan early in 1249 ignorant of two important facts. The first was that the Mongol General Ilchikudai had acted without permission of the Great Khan in sending envoys to establish direct relations with the French King at Cyprus, and these Nestorian envoys had furthermore greatly exaggerated the prospects of the conversion of the Mongol court to Christianity. It has been suggested (Prawdin, p. 296) that the envoys may have hoped thereby to obtain Catholic recognition of the Nestorian church, which had long been condemned as heretical. The second fact of which Friar Andrew was ignorant was that Kuyuk was dead and a momentous power struggle was taking place among the descendants of Kuyuk Jenghiz Khan. When Jenghiz died in 1227 his third son, Ogodai, was elected supreme Khan. When Ogodai, in turn died in 1241, his son Kuyuk's succession had been hotly disputed by the ruler of the far western Mongol kingdom in southern Russia, Batu, son of Jenghiz's oldest son and the oldest of his grandsons. Batu was also probably the most powerful militarily of all the Mongols at the time. He is said to have had a force of 600,000 horsemen ready to ride at a moment's notice. Batu accepted the election of Kuyuk as Great Khan, but not without displeasure, and did not even come in person to the election. Kuyuk must have had doubts about his loyalty, but did not show it. However, in 1248, about the time that King Louis was receiving the Nestorian envoys from the Mongols in Persia, Kuyuk suddenly announced a campaign against Europe and began to march toward Batu's territory. But what was he really doing? Marching against Europe, or against Batu? At this point Princess Sorocan, the Nestorian widow of Jenghiz's youngest son Tuli, made an important decision. She sent a warning to Batu that Kuyuk was moving west. Batu acted fast, gathering his army, he moved to meet Kuyuk. But neither was openly moving against the other. Then suddenly, when only a few days' march separated the two, Kuyuk died. Whether his death averted a fratricidal civil war will never be known; but of great significance is the fact that in the contest for election of the next Great Khan which followed, Batu now felt indebted to the Nestorian Princess Sorocan. That election divided the descendants of Jenghiz into two camps. On one side was the line of the eldest son, Juji, led by Batu, joined with the line of the youngest son, Tuli, led by Princess Sorocan. Against them were the descendants of the second son, Jagatai, and of the third son, Ogodai, led by Kuyuk's widow and now Regent, Ogul-Gaimish.

When Friar Andrew reached the court of the Mongols at Imil, east of Lake Balkeeh, he found the Queen-Regent Ogul-Gaimish ruling until an election could be held. Instead of the warm reception he expected from a Great Khan about to turn Christian, he found his arrival used as a pretext by the Regent to consolidate her political power. She proclaimed that the embassy from the West had come with tribute to offer to the Mongols the subjection of the King of France! Friar Andrew returned with the news of this diplomatic failure to find added was: the King had lost his Crusade.

Ms. handwriting at end of page: the Museum had taken him captive and put the march to rest for him.

William of Rubruck (1253-1255)

The most important of these earliest missionary exploration trips into Asia, both in terms of information brought back and of missionary motivation, was the ten-thousand-mile trek of the French Flemish Friar William of Rubruck, a Franciscan. He left Constantinople in May 1253 and returned two years later in June 1255 to Antioch. Though sent by King Louis IX of France, and not the Pope, Rubruck was commissioned solely as a missionary, not as an ambassador, for the King was not disposed to give again the impression, as had been done by Andrew of Longjumeau's ill-fated mission, that France was acknowledging Mongol sovereignty. Both in public sermons, as at Sancta Sophia in Constantinople at the start of his journey, and repeatedly to Mongol questioners, Rubruck insisted that he was only a missionary to unbelievers.

William of Rubruck contributed more than any other mediaeval writer except Marco Polo to Christendom's general knowledge of Asia. He was the first European to mention the country of Korea, for example, which he calls Caule (from Kao-li, as the Chinese pronounced the name Koryo (Rubruck p. 329, or p. 201 in Rockhill's edition). He was the first to describe the true sources of the Don and the Volga, to determine that the Caspian Sea was a lake, not a bay or gulf, and to identify Cathay with the country the Greeks called Seros. He was the first to describe the Mongolian capital of Karakorum, and to distinguish between Tartar and Mongols (putting the Tartars east of the Mongols). He was also the first to note the difference between the alphabetical writing of the Turks (Tenguts), Tibetans and Uighurs, and the ideographic writing of the Chinese. "They do their writing with a brush such as painters paint with," he wrote (Rubruck-Rockhill, p. 201 f.), "and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word." He should stand high on the roll of those missionary explorers and scholars who have added so much to the increase of knowledge scientifically and academically as well as religiously.

But most important in the history of missions, he gave Western Christians the first accurate descriptions of the ancient Nestorian communities which he found spread across Central Asia among the Mongol tribes, and the first account of Tibetan and northern Buddhism. "In short," says Rockhill, "no one traveller since his day has done half so much to give a correct knowledge of this part of Asia. (p. xxxviii).

Rubruck's route, starting from the Black Sea, took him farther north into central Russia than Pien de Carpene who had started in Poland and moved south. The reason was that Rubruck had been told that Sartach, son of Batu, Genghis Khan's oldest grandson, had become a Christian and he hoped to enlist his aid on his mission and perhaps even find military assistance for King Louis's crusade against Egypt. Three days out of Soldaia, a port in the Crimea, he entered Mongol territory. He was traveling with 6 covered carts and 5 horses, but marvelled at the huge carts on which the nomadic Mongols carried their tents--some of them 30 feet wide, pulled by 22 oxen. The women are very fat, he observed, and the smaller the nose the more beautiful they are considered. As for their manners, "they consider themselves the masters of the world," he said; and they very nearly were.

It took him two months to reach Sartach's camp which was located halfway between the Don River (the border of Europe and Asia, as it was considered) and the Volga. He found at once that Sartach

was no Christian. One of the general's chief officers took Rubruck aside and said, "Do not say that our lord is a Christian. He is not a Christian but a Mongol" (Rubruck-Rockh. p. 107), as if the Mongols thought of Christianity more as a form of national identity than as a religion. However, Rubruck did find that one of the most important men in Sartach's administration was indeed a Christian, a Nestorian. In fact all across Asia he found Nestorian Christians in the most influential of administrative positions under the Mongols. This did not, however, change his attitude of contempt and disapproval toward the Nestorian "heretics". Rubruck forthrightly attempted to preach to the Mongols but was frustrated and irritated by having to do it through an interpreter he distrusted. "After awhile," he wrote, "when I had learned the language a little, I saw that when I said one thing, he said a totally different one, according to what came uppermost in his mind. So, seeing the danger of speaking through him, I made up my mind to keep silence." (Rubruck-Rockh., p. 96)

Beyond Sartach's camp the missionaries reached the great ordu of Batu, his father, on the Volga River. With its great tents, all in order in the encampment, it reminded him of the Israelites traveling with their tabernacle and tents through the Wilderness as described in Exodus. Rubruck preached as fearlessly to Batu as he had to lesser Mongols. "May God who gave you these worldly goods give you hereafter heavenly ones," he told the general, "for the former without the latter are vain. You must know for certain that you shall not have the heavenly goods unless you have been a Christian, for God says, 'He who believes and is baptized shall be saved, but he who does not believe shall be condemned.'" The great general listened intently, but the Mongol soldiers around him only laughed and clapped. (ibid, p. 124)

It was a four month journey from Batu's camp to the court of the Great Khan in Mongolia. The Mongol officer assigned as his guide warned him, "It is so cold there that stones and trees are split by the cold. Do you really intend to go on?" "Yes," said Rubruck.

On the way they passed through territory which had been the original home of the Hungarians, reports Rubruck. He called it Pencatir, and says that four preaching friars, i.e. Dominicans, had journeyed that far into Asia to preach the gospel before the Mongol invasion, but upon reaching that remote area (on the upper reaches of the Ural River) they had found the area already devastated by the Mongols and had returned. Nothing else is known of this mission, which must have occurred about 1237 (Rubruck-Rockh., p. 131; Rockhill reports a mention of it in Albericus Trium Fontium, Chronicon, 564).

Farther past the Aral Sea and ^{Passing south of} ~~approaching~~ Lake Balkash, Rubruck begins to speak of the Uigurs who, he says, are a mixture of Nestorians and Moslems, though Buddhist temples are to be found in their towns. Here, he reports, the Mongols are so ignorant of the West that they asked him if it were really true as reported that the Great Pope was 500 years old! (Ibid, p. 133, 141 ff.)

He gives an interesting account of his evangelistic approach to Buddhists, or "idolaters" as he calls them. "What do you believe about God", he asked. "We believe that there is one God". "Is he a spirit, or something with a body?" "A spirit," they said. "Do you believe that he has never taken upon him human nature?" "Never." "Then," said Rubruck, "if you believe that he is one and a spirit, why do you make so many bodily images of him? Furthermore, if you do not believe that he became man, why do you make him in human shape rather than in that of some animal?" "We do not make them of God," they replied, "but in remembrance of the dead". (These were perhaps the felt images they placed like fetishes in their tents). Then the idolaters went on the attack. "Where is God," they asked Rubruck. To which he replied, "Where is your soul?" "In our body," they said. "Isn't it everywhere in your body," pursued Rubruck, moving to the attack again. "And doesn't it direct your whole body, although it is invisible? Just so is God everywhere governing all things though He is invisible, for He is intelligence and wisdom." But just then, writes Rubruck, when I wanted to continue, my interpreter got tired and would no longer express my words and made me stop talking. (Ibid, p. 148)

About three leagues beyond Cailao (near Modern Kopal) where he had had the disputation with the idolaters, Rubruck found a village inhabited entirely by Nestorians. "We entered their church, singing joyfully and at the top of our voices: 'Salve regina'", he writes, "for it had been a long time since we had seen a church." (p. 159). But he developed a very low opinion of Nestorians in general. He passes on the report that 15 cities in China have Nestorians, and that they have an episcopal see in Segin (Changan?). This is how he describes them:

"The Nestorians there (i.e. in China) know nothing. They say their offices, and have sacred books in Syrian, but they do not know the language, so they chant like those monks among us who do not know grammar, and they are absolutely depraved. In the first place they are usurers and drunkards; some even among them who live with the Tartars have several wives like them. When they enter church they wash their lower parts like Saracens; they eat meat on Friday and have their feasts on that day in Saracen fashion. The bishop rarely visits these parts, hardly once in fifty years. When he does, they have all the male children, even those in the cradle, ordained priests, so nearly all the males among them are priests. Then they marry, which is clearly against the statutes of the fathers, and they are bigamists, for when the first wife dies these priests take another. They are all simoniacs, for they administer no sacrament free. They are solicitous for their wives and children, and are consequently more intent on the increase of their wealth than of the faith. And so those of them who educate some of the sons of the noble Mongols, though they teach them the Gospel and the articles of the faith, through their evil lives and their cupidity estrange them from the Christian faith, for the lives of the Mongols themselves and the Tuins (Buddhist priests) or idolaters are more innocent than theirs" (p. 158 f.)

It should be pointed out that Rubruck was a hostile critic, being Roman Catholic and regarding Nestorians as excommunicate. Moreover he had his own weaknesses. He criticized the Nestorians and Armenians for superstition, but was willing to chant loud chants to drive away the "dragons" which his guides believed haunted the high passes of the Tarbagatai mountains, seizing travelers and tearing them apart. (p. 161). And when an Armenian monk whom he befriended and used

as an interpreter had rashly promised to cure one of Mangu Khan's wives (his second, who was not a Christian) and was desperately treating the disease with rhubarb and prayers and superstitious charms, Rubruck himself we find not above adding a little to the superstition. The monk had ground up the rhubarb into a powder and placed it in water with a little crucifix which, he said would indicate whether the patient would recover or die. If the cross stuck to the patient's breast when placed there, he would recover; if not, he would die. Rubruck sensibly observed that the rhubarb mixture was probably good for intestinal disorder, but unwisely added that the root should be mixed not with plain water but with holy water to drive out the devils. He was not untouched by the same weaknesses he observed in others. (But see also p. 216)

Nevertheless, his picture of Nestorian Christianity at the court of the Mongols is devastating: noisy Christians, priests singing and howling, fortune telling over willow wands (pp. 186, 192, 195), "a sect," says Rubruck, "full of sorceries and idolatries" (p. 212). He reports with scorn, as we noted above, that they ordain boys even in the cradle as priests during the extremely rare visit of a bishop, fearing it may be another 50 years before he returns; that they charge fees for administering the sacraments, and that their evil lives betray the gospel and produce Christians whose behaviour is even worse than that of the Mongols they should be converting. (p. 157-159)

Given this low state of the Nestorian church, it is somewhat surprising ^{and how} influential the faith seemed to be, even in Rubruck's hostile description. The Grand Secretary at the court, Bulgai, "whose advice they nearly always follow," says Rubruck, was a Nestorian Christian (p. 168). Mangu's personal interpreter was a Nestorian (p. 173). He personally held special court on the days which the Nestorians told him were holy (p. 182). His first wife, Kutuktai Khatun, or Cöteta, was a Christian of ^{the} Kirai tribe, and bore him two sons. She faithfully attended the Nestorian services in the great tent chapel near the Khan's ordu, and Mangu himself often accompanied her at such services though he did not pretend to be a Christian (p. 184 f.) Mangu's younger brother was being brought up and taught by a Nestorian, reports Rubruck, referring ^{perhaps} probably to Hulagu, for it is known that Khublai's teacher and instructor was Chinese. (p. 212) His youngest brother (Arik-boga) may even have been a Christian. Once when he passed Rubruck he paused and made the sign of the cross to him, "like a bishop," says Rubruck. And again, when an Armenian monk got into a religious argument with Moslems, Arik-boga interrupted when the Moslems began to revile the name of Christ. "You must not speak so," he said, "for we know that the Messiah is God". (pp. 223, 224)

Rubruck spent five months at the court of the Khan, observing and recording everything and trying bravely to bear a Christian witness, though Protestants would recoil from some of his mediaeval superstitions. From the missionary point of view the climax of his sojourn among the Mongols was the great debate staged at the command of Mangu Khan between the Christians, the Moslems and the Buddhists (Tuins, he calls them) at the court.

This debate is the first significant missionary encounter in the Far East between Western Christianity and the religions of Asia of which we have any detailed record, and Friar William of Rubruck acquitted himself well in it. He knew from four months of experience at the Mongol court that he was at a disadvantage. He was a minority in a minority. Christians were far outnumbered. Of the fifteen places of worship he found at the capital, Karakorum, twelve were Buddhist temples ("temples of idols"), two were mosques, ("Mehummeries") and only one was a Christian church. That was of course, Nestorian, for Rubruck, as a Roman Catholic, was far outnumbered within the Christian community there by the Nestorian tribesmen. His only fellow Catholics, aside from his traveling companion, were some uninstructed prisoners. In the debate he expected little help from the Nestorians whom he had come to despise as little better than the idolaters.

The debate was elaborately organized with three umpires sent by the Khan, a Christian, a Moslem and a Buddhist. Rubruck planned his strategy well. He skillfully persuaded the Nestorians to let him speak first for the Christian side, telling them that if he failed, they would always have a chance to jump in and turn the tide, but if they spoke first and failed, he by himself would have no chance whatever. He also persuaded them not to rush in with a swinging assault on the Mohammedans, as they wanted to do, but rather first to attack the Buddhists who were in the overwhelming majority, and to seek to use the Moslems as a minority ally against this majority. "For they agree with us," he wrote, "in saying that there is one God". (p. 239 f.)

As the debate began, Rubruck found himself ranged against a Buddhist from China. This priest proposed that they first discuss how the world was made, or what becomes of the soul after death. Not so, said Rubruck. "We must first speak of God, the fountain-head of all things. This is where we differ, and the Khan wants to know who holds the better belief." The first stage of the debate, thus, was monotheism against polytheism, and Rubruck was able to bring in the Moslem on his side. "Fools say that there is only one God," declared the Buddhist, "but the wise say there are many, just as there are many great rulers in the world, and Mangu Khan is the greatest." "Don't compare God and man," said Rubruck. "God is omnipotent.. but no man can do everything." "Then why does he make half of all things evil?" asked the Buddhist, whose faith had apparently been influenced by the dualistic Manichaean doctrines from Persia which had long spread across Central Asia side by side with the expansion of Nestorianism. Vigorously Rubruck denied this heresy. "God makes all things good," he said. "Then where does evil come from," pursued the Buddhist? "You put your question badly," replied Rubruck. "You should first ask what evil is, before you ask where it comes from. But first answer my question about God. Do you believe there is any God who is omnipotent--then I'll answer all the questions you want to ask."

The Buddhist was afraid to answer, and sat silent for a long while. The umpires pressed him for a reply, and at last he said, "No god is omnipotent". At that the Moslems burst out into a loud laugh, and Rubruck had achieved his first goal, a Christian-Moslem alliance against the Buddhists in the debate. He pressed his advantage. "If no one of your gods is omnipotent, none of them can save you from every

peril, for occasions may arise in which he has no power. Furthermore, no one can serve two masters," he went on, remembering that Mangu Khan would be following the debate, though not present. "So how can you ~~xxx~~ serve so many gods in heaven and earth." The Buddhist was speechless and refused to reply. Rubruck had won the first stage of the debate, but as a missionary he was not satisfied. The Christian mission is not a debate with the world's religions. It is not even a dialogue, though that too will enter into it. Its primary purpose is ~~to~~ not to defeat an enemy, not to explore the world of ideas, as in dialogue, but to persuade and to win the lost for Jesus Christ. And as the day ended, Rubruck rather sadly noted, "They all listened.. but no one said, 'I believe; I want to become a Christian.' (And) when it was over, the Nestorians as well as the Saracens sang with a loud voice while the Tuins (Buddhists) kept silence, and after that they all drank deeply". (pp. 230-235).

The next day the Great Khan Mangu himself called in Rubruck for an interview, and Rubruck hoped for an opportunity to witness to him of the faith. Instead, Mangu did most of the talking about his own beliefs. "We Mongols," he said, believe that there is only one God by whom we live and by whom we die, and for whom we have an upright heart.. But as God gives us the different fingers of the hand, so he gives to men diverse ways. God gives you the Scriptures, and you Christians keep them not... He gave us diviners, we do what they tell us, and we live in peace." (pp. 235, 236). Then he spoke abruptly of sending Rubruck back to his home, and the missionary never again found the opportunity to speak to this powerful man of the Catholic faith. Perhaps, the missionary wistfully concludes, "if I had had the power by signs and wonders to work like Moses, he would have humbled himself", and believed. But among the Christian captives he ~~was~~ he was able to baptize six people during his stay. (pp. 239, 254) On about July 10 Rubruck started the return journey through the camp of Batu, down the Volga and the western coast of the Caspian Sea over the Caucasus Mountains and through Armenia and Turkey to Syria.

Marco Polo (1271-1295)

The Polo brothers and their famous nephew, Marco, were not missionaries, but Marco Polo's remarkable account of his journey to Mongol China and of the Christians he found there is one of the most important pieces of information that has come down to us on Nestorianism in China in the 13th century. Moreover, on the second Polo journey--the two uncles had made the trip once before in (1260-1269)--two Dominican missionaries, Nicholas of Vicenza and William of Tripoli, along with the nephew Marco, accompanied the merchants.

On their first journey the Polo brothers became the first known Europeans to reach China. Earlier travelers and missionaries did not penetrate beyond the Mongol capital in Mongolia. But by 1266 Mangu's brother Khublai had become Great Khan and had moved into China against the Sung dynasty. Khublai sent back with the

brothers, in 1269, a startling request to the Pope that he send a hundred missionaries, teachers of science and religion, to his court in Peking to make known to the Chinese the Western learning and the Christian faith. When the Polos returned west as far as Syria, they passed on this request to Rome, but the papacy was vacant at the time and they received no answer. Starting back for China in 1271 they were suddenly recalled by the newly elected Pope who asked that the two Dominicans be allowed to accompany them back to Peking. Unfortunately the two friars were poor missionaries. Encountering a war in Asia Minor on their way they became so frightened they turned back, leaving the Polos to return to China without benefit of clergy. With more courage, and the benefit of the Polo's prestige with Khublai Khan, there is no telling how great an impact a Catholic mission might have had in China in the opening years of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty there. Before the Polos returned to Europe in 1279 the Sung dynasty had fallen and Khublai was not only Khan of the Mongols but also Emperor of China.

Marco Polo ~~at least~~ gives proof of wide-spread Nestorian communities in 13th century China from Kanou to Yunnan, and from Peking to perhaps Foochow, in which area he improbably reports a community of 700,000 secret Christians. The figure of course is wildly exaggerated, and though their claim to a tradition of 700 years of Christianity suggests a surviving link with the ancient Persian church of the T'ang dynasty, most scholars believe that the community was probably Manichaean, not Nestorian.

He reports an illuminating interview conversation with Khublai Khan revealing that that ruler like his Mongol predecessors was completely syncretistic in their approach to religion, and tolerant of all faiths. The Khan declared he revered all four of the great gods, Jesus Christ of the Christians, Mohammed of the Saracens, Moses of the Jews and Sakamuni of the Buddhists. Polo gathered that he admired the content of the Christian faith most of all, but was turned away from becoming Christian by the ignorance of the Nestorians and the magic powers he believed he had seen in Buddhism. Their wonder-workers had amazed him by causing wine-cups to float mysteriously into his hands. He also hesitated to alienate any religious groups in his kingdom by joining one faith and offending all the others. Nevertheless, wrote Marco Polo, had the Pope honored his request for 100 missionaries "who should know well how to argue and to show plainly to the idolaters..that all their (religion was) erroneous and all the idols which they keep in their houses and worship are devilish things, and who should know well how to show clearly by reason that the Christian religion is better than theirs....." if, concludes Polo, these missionaries had come and shown clearly that such miracles as the Buddhists wrought were of the devil and not of God, then "the Great Khan would have been made a Christian, because it is known for certain that he had a great desire to be so." (Moule, pp. 129, 136 f.)

But the opportunity, if opportunity it truly was, was lost when the two Dominicans lost their nerve and turned back from the mission. In 1278 perhaps through some indirect report from the Polos about the Khan's preference for Christianity, Pope Nicholas III sent a party of five Franciscans to China. What happened to them is unknown, but it is thought that on their way, in Persia, they discovered that the conversion of Khublai was a false report, and used this as an excuse to abandon the mission. (Latourette, Xn Miss. in China. p. 68)

John of Montecorvino (1291-1328).

All the missionary journeys which we have described thus far were only exploratory preludes to the one substantial Roman Catholic mission despatched to the Far East and established in China in this century. The first resident European missionary in China and the founder of the first Catholic church there was a Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, the first Archbishop of Peking. John of Pian de Carpine and William of Rubruck and the others were not primarily missionaries but ambassadors. John of Montecorvino was a missionary and church planter.

Little is known of his life before he went to China. Born in Italy in 1246 or 1247 he apparently represented his order in the Near East, and on one occasion acted as intermediary between the Eastern Emperor at Constantinople, Michael Paleologus, and the Pope in some of the futile negotiations toward union of that time between the Greek and Roman churches. Around 1281 he was sent by the head of the Franciscan order on a mission to convert Persians and Mongols in the Near East. He remained there for nine years, during the reign of Argun Ilkhan (Ilkhan was the title given to Hulagu, Khublai's brother, and his successor, the rulers of West Asia). The Ilkhans had from the first given preferential treatment to the Nestorian Christians in the falling Arab Empire, seeing in them natural allies against their enemies the Moslems. When Hulagu conquered Baghdad in 1258 he massacred its Moslem inhabitants but spared the Christians. Hulagu's favorite wife was a Christian, and, of course, his mother, the famous Princess Sorعان. After the defeat of King Louis in the fifth crusade, however, Hulagu's second son, Tagudar, seeing that the wave of the future might be with the Moslems, not the Christians, adopted the faith of Islam, took a Moslem name, Ahmed, and tried to form an alliance with Mohammedan Egypt. It was Argun, Ahmed's nephew ~~Kampizinsadxtin~~ Khubizai and Hulagu's grandson, complained to Khublai that his uncle had "had abandoned the way of their forefathers and had accepted the laws of the Arabs". Ten Mongolian princes and sixty generals joined Argun in a revolt against Ahmed, who was killed and Argun became the fourth Ilkhan. (Prawdin, p. 371 f.)

About 1289 Argun Ilkhan seeking an alliance against Egypt with the Christian West sent John of Montecorvino with a letter to the Pope. Persuaded by John that the Mongols were unusually open to the gospel, the Pope sent him in 1291 on a mission to the east, not only to the Ilkhans in Baghdad and Persia, but also to the Great Khan, Khublai in far Cathay (China). He went first to Tabriz for some months, then in 1291 started on the great journey to China, traveling not across Central Asia, like his predecessors, but by way of India. In India, where he stayed and preached for thirteen months, apparently in the Madras area ("wherein stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle") and where his Dominican companion, Nicholas of Pietola, died.

John continued on to China alone, reaching Peking about 1294, probably after the death of Khublai Khan that same year. Two of his letters have survived, one dated 1305, and one 1306.

The first letter tells a story of heroic struggle and triumph over great adversities. Thirteen years had passed on his long sea-journey and mission. Eleven of those years he had been completely alone, without colleagues or co-workers in a strange land facing hostile pagans and, even worse, the persecution of schismatic Christians, Nestorians "who profess to bear the Christian name, but who deviate badly from the Christian religion". (p. 46, Yule, Cordier, v. 3) After five years of malicious attacks by the Nestorians who sought by every means possible to prevent the entry of Catholic Christianity, he was vindicated before the Emperor Tulo, grandson of Khublai, who reigned from 1294-1307. Then began years of remarkable accomplishments.

By 1299 he had built the first Catholic church in China, in Peking, complete with bell-tower and three bells. By 1305 he had baptized some 6000 persons. It would have been 30,000, he adds, had he not been hindered by the persecutions. He had started a school, enrolling 150 boys of pagan parents--boys between 7 and 11 years of age. These he had already baptized, taught them Greek and Latin, and formed them into a choir, teaching them also how to copy manuscripts of hymns and Bible portions. Perhaps most significant of all he had translated the entire New Testament and Psalms into the Tartar language. (p. 46, 47, 48)

Much of his success, he was open to acknowledge, had a political base. Within a year of his arrival he had converted to the Catholic faith "a certain king of this part of the world, by name George," whom Montecorvino believed to be a descendant of Prester John. This was Prince George of the Ongut tribe, who were largely Nestorian Christians, and the conversion of their hereditary chief to Catholicism brought over great numbers of the Onguts from Nestorianism to the Roman communion. George himself was received into lesser orders, and when Montecorvino celebrated mass assisted him in his gorgeous royal robes. (p. 47)

Nestorian Christianity at that time had two major tribal power bases in East Asia. One was the Kerait tribe, from whom Khublai Khan's mother had come. The other was the Ongut tribe of Prince George. The Onguts lived in the area of the north-east bend of the Yellow River guarding the passes between Mongolia and China, some 300 miles northwest of Peking and 500 miles northeast of Chang'an. The chief of the Ongut had aided with Jenghiz Khan in the war against the Naiman and his son was rewarded with the title of Prince of Pei-p'ing and the hand of a daughter of Jenghiz in marriage. His son, Kunbuga, in turn, married the eldest daughter of Kuyuk Khan, and another son, Aibuga, married the youngest daughter of Khublai Khan. Prince George (called K'uo-li-ohi-esu) in Chinese) was the son of Aibuga and Khublai Khan's daughter, and a mighty warrior in the service of his father-in-law, Khublai. It was probably the defection of this great leader from their faith to that of the intruding Catholic missionary in the first year of his arrival that led to the long five-year persecution of Montecorvino by the Nestorians. Prince George died in 1298, and much of the politically based success of the Franciscan mission vanished with him. "After King George's death," complains Montecorvino, "his brothers, perfidious followers of the errors of Nestorius, perverted again all those whom he had brought over to the church, and carried them back to their original schismatical creed." (Ibid, p. 47 f.) (See A.C. Moule, Xns. in China before 1250, pp. 1299)

In his second letter, dated Feb. 1306, John reports that through the generosity of an Italian merchant who had been his traveling companion from Persia, he had purchased a site for a second church only a stone's throw from the gate of the Khan's palace, and that a great red cross had already been raised above the church. He had divided his group of 40 boys in two, and was using them as two choirs and assistants in celebrating mass at the two churches. He closes the letter with an appeal for more missionaries, not only for China, where by virtue of the favor he himself had won with the Khan the door of opportunity seemed wide open, but also missionaries for India and Ethiopia. On one day, after the feast of All Saints, he said, as proof of the opportunities at hand, he had baptized 400 persons in Peking. (Moule, op. cit. pp. 177-181)

This letter was brought by Thomas of Tolentino to Pope Clement V who was "filled with great joy", says the ancient account, and chose seven Franciscans to proceed at once to support John of Montecorvino in his great work. They were all seven consecrated as assistant bishops, and John was appointed Patriarch and Archbishop of the whole East. This was in the spring of 1307, though the exact date is difficult to determine. Only three of the seven reached China, ~~Gerard, Peregrine and Andrew de Perugia~~ Gerard, Peregrine and Andrew de Perugia (Perugia) (Moule, p. 167). It seems to have taken them almost six years to reach China, in 1313, although the mss. of Andrew of Perugia's letter gives the date as 1318, which Moule corrects to 1313. (p. 191 f.) This letter, along with the two of John of Montecorvino are the only uncontestably genuine letters from the Franciscan mission which have survived, although several others are extant which may be genuine. Andrew tells of spending five years with the Archbishop in Peking, and then opening up, with Bishop Gerard, a mission in Zaitun (which has been identified as the port city of Ch'uan-chou, near the present Amoy in Fuchien province. There a wealthy Armenian lady had built a church for Christians which became the seat of a second episcopal diocese under the Peking archdiocese. The three first bishops there were the three Franciscan missionaries in succession: Gerard, Peregrine and Andrew of Perugia. It is from Andrew's letter we learn that the four of the seven original appointed missionaries who failed to reach China had been killed by Mohammedans in India on their way. (p. 195).

This all seemed to be a great and auspicious beginning to Catholic missions in China: an Archbishop in Peking who had baptized thousands, including princes, and who was honored by Khublai Khan himself. Reinforcements from the homeland arriving to spread the gospel and open up new beach-heads for the faith on the south coast near Amoy. But then, alas, the ~~work~~ mission seems to decline and finally disappear. In 1311 the pope sent three more bishops as reinforcements. Only one of them reached Peking. Around 1325, roughly, an Italian Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone made an exploratory journey throughout the Far East and met, possibly John of Montecorvino in Peking, and two communities of Franciscans at Ch'uan-chou, as well as Christian friars at Hangchow who had converted an official, and another community at Yangchow. Hangchow, he thought, was the largest city in the whole world; and Yangchow in addition to the Franciscan center had three Nestorian churches.

John of Montecorvino died in 1328, according to the accepted date (See Moule, n. p. 196) and was mourned with great honors in Peking. (Ibid, p. 249-251, as described about 1330 in a letter from an Archbishop who had worked with John in Persia. The same letter gives the number of Nestorians in China then as 30,000). Latourette has this to say of the life and work of John of Montecorvino:

"He had, almost single-handed, established the Roman Catholic faith in the capital of the mightiest empire his time and to do so had journeyed farther from his home than even any missionary of any religion is known to have done before him. When measured by the effect of his life upon his contemporaries and succeeding generations, he is by no means the greatest of Christian apostles, but for single-hearted devotion and quiet persistence, he deserves to be ranked with the foremost pioneers of all faiths and times." (Hist. of Christian Missions in China, p. 71 f.)

Successors were named to John's post as Archbishop of Cambaluo (Peking) but none ever seemed to have reached China. He was not only the first but also the last such Archbishop. Nicholas, a professor of theology at the University of Paris was the first successor named to his post, but died in 1333, but Nicholas died on the journey. Letters arrived from Christian Alan in China, and one even from the Khan himself asking that the Pope send a legate to fill the vacuum left by the death of the great missionary, and legates were sent but as far as we know only one such representative of the papacy ever reached Peking. This was John of Marignolli, who took the overland route and reached China in 1342. He remained there at the court of three or four years, finally returning to Europe in 1353, by way of Malacca, Ceylon, Bagdad and Jerusalem. He reports that on the journey through Central Asia he made a church and bought a church site at Almaliq (in the old Kara-Khitai area S.E. of L. Balkash near modern Kulja) although only a year before a bishop and six Franciscan missionaries had been martyred there. Reaching Peking he marched in to an audience with the Great Khan, singing "I believe in one God" and was royally received by Toghon-Timur the last of the Yuan dynasty emperors (r. 1333-1368). He reports of the great Franciscan cathedral in Peking and other churches, and of the generous financial support received by the mission from the Emperor.

It was a bright and optimistic report. But it was the last report of the last Roman Catholic mission to reach China. It was 200 years before another serious attempt was made by Rome to enter China. That was in 1552, by the great Xavier. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, the Franciscan mission disappeared with it, as did also the Nestorian church in the Far East.

SODALITY

MODALITY

SECULAR

1294 John of Montecorvino to China

1256 Austin Friars (Augustinians)
1233 Servites founded

1229 Papal recognition for Carmelites

1219 Francis joins 5th Crusade to Egypt

1215 Dominic founds Dominicans

1210 Francis founds Franciscans

c. 1200 RISE OF MENDICANTS

1274 Second Council of Lyons

1265 Duns Scotus

1260 Meister Eckhart

1245 first Council of Lyons

1233 Gregory IX starts Inquisition

1229 Council of Toulouse outlaws Bible possession

1224 Thomas Aquinas

1215 Fourth Lateran Council

1265 Dante

1261 Constantinople to Greeks

1259 Kuelai Khan reigns

1246 SIXTH CRUSADE

1237 Mongols invade Europe

1227 Death of Jenqhis Khan

1219 FIFTH CRUSADE

1215 Magna Carta

1209 1st anti-Cathari crusade

1201-4 FOURTH CRUSADE

c. 1200 Mongol invasion of Russia

1349 Pelamoa leads Hesychasts at Mt. Athos

1335 Monastic reforms of Benedict XII

1334 Observant Franciscans founded

1379 Wyclif begins teaching

1378 Thomas a Kempis

1378-1417 GREAT SCHISM

1347 Catherine of Siena

1314 Sergius--Patron Saint of Russia

1311 Council of Vienne

1309-1378 PAPACY AT AVIGNON

1300 William of Ockham

RISE OF THE RENAISSANCE

1381 Watt Tyler Rebellion

1368 Ming dynasty begins

1350-1400 Turks take Adrianople & Bulgaria

1346-9 FIRST ATTACK OF PLAGUE

1337 Hundred Years War begins

1336 Tamarlane

1328 Emperor enters Rome, sets up antipope

1304 Petrarch

1491 Ignatius Loyola

1474 Bartolome de las Casas in Latin America

1492 Alexander VI PAPAL MADIA

1491-98 Savonarole in Florence

1484 Zwingli

1480 Inquisition extended to Spain

1466 Crasmus

1431 Council of Basel

1415 Hus burnt at Constance

1414 Council of Constance

1412-31 Joan of Arc

1409 Council of Pisa, 3 popes

1402 Hus begins preaching

1401 Nicholas of Cusa

1499 Gunoschu Movement begins 15.4

1492 Jimenes confessor to Isabelle

1492 Spain united

1492 Columbus to Americas

1480 Moscow independent

1473 Copernicus

1469 Machiavelli

1456 Gutenberg prints Bible

1453 Turks take Constantinople

1443 Sigismund crowned Emperor

1583 Ricci in China

1581 Clever

1576 Vincent de Paul

1549 Xavier in Japan

1543 Conslus to Germany

1542 Xavier in India

1540 Pope recognizes Jesuits

1535 Ursulines founded

1534 JESUITS FOUNDED

1528 Capuchins arise

1506 Xavier

1505 Luther joins Observant Augustinians

END OF CONCILIAR ERA

GROWTH OF PURITANS

CATHOLIC REVIVAL-ENGLAND

SOCIANISM IN POLAND

1555 Paul IV (Caraffe)

1546 Death of Luther

1545 COUNCIL OF TRENT

1521 Luther excommunicated

1517 LUTHER'S THESES

1509 Calvin

1510 Knox

1535 CALVIN'S INSTITUTES

1521 DIET OF WORMS

1524 Anabaptists persecuted

1530 AUCSBURG CONFESION

EDICT OF Nantes 1598

1596 Descartes

1588 Hobbes

1581 Jillem of Orange

1571 Kepler

1564 Galileo

1562-94 Jara of Religion

1561 Bacon

1558 Elizabeth I -England

1555 Peace of Augsborg

1553 Mary I & Catholic reaction

1534 Henry VIII breaks with Rome

1530 Juan the terrible

1520 Charles V Holy Roman Emperor

1520 Magellan

1509 Henry VIII -England

THIRD DARK AGES

ABORTED

FOURTH CURTAIN RISING

CATHOLIC + PROTESTANT REFORMATIONS

1600

1000

SODALITY

MODALITY

SECULAR

1699 SPECK 1701 SPECFP Jesuits expelled by Fr. Sp. Fort. 1792 BMS 1795 LMS 1796 SMS, GMS 1797 NMS 1799 CMS, R1S 1804 CFOS 1810 ABCFM 1814 ABMB 1815 CMS 1817 WMS 1821 OMS 1822 FEM 1824 BM 1825 BOMBAY UNION 1826 AHMS 1819 Russia expels Jesuits 1816 American Bible Soc. 1815 MULTIPLICATION OF ORDERS 1814 Jesuits reinstated 1813 Russian Bible Soc. 1800 Sacred Heart

1705 Danish Halle Mission 1792 BMS 1795 LMS 1796 SMS, GMS 1797 NMS 1799 CMS, R1S 1804 CFOS 1810 ABCFM 1814 ABMB 1815 CMS 1817 WMS 1821 OMS 1822 FEM 1824 BM 1825 BOMBAY UNION 1826 AHMS 1819 Russia expels Jesuits 1816 American Bible Soc. 1815 MULTIPLICATION OF ORDERS 1814 Jesuits reinstated 1813 Russian Bible Soc. 1800 Sacred Heart

1680 Br. w. Indies 1663 Paria Soc. of Foreign Missions 1643 RITES Controversy 1640 Jesuits-Brazil 1631 Cijot-American Indians 1624 Dutch in Taiwan 1622 PROPACANDA Founded 1619 Capuchins distinct 1612 Japan expels missionaries 1610 Jesuits-Paraguay 1605 Nobili to India 1600 300,000 Xns in Japan

1688 Swedenborg 1666 Old Believers 1666 Pietism 1647 Quakers 1646 Westminster Confession 1632 Dortrecht Confession 1620f. Puritans to Am. 1620f. Separatists to Am. 1618 SYNDOD OF DORT 1613 Arminianism 1611 KJV 1605 Nikon of Russia 1600 Unitarians

1649 Cromwell-Puritans 1648 Westphalis 1646 Leibniz 1643 Louis XIV 1642 Newton 1632 Locke 1628 Huguenots defeated 1623 Pascal 1618 Thirty Years War 1613-1917 Romanovs 1609 Neth. Independent 1608 Evangelical Union

1689 BILL OF RIGHTS 1688 GLORIOUS REVOLUTION 1685 Berkeley 1684 Edict of Nantes Revoked 1682 Peter the Great

1722 HERRNHUT-Moravians 1760 1740 226 missionaries 60 missionaries 1750 Labrador 1737 Africa American Indians 1732 Carribean 1732 Greenland

1722 Zinzendorf-HERRNHUT 1713 Jansenists heretical 1708 Brethren 1703 Wesley 1703 Edwards

1761 Caray 1759 Wilberforce 1748 Lutherans U.S. 1722 Zinzendorf-HERRNHUT 1713 Jansenists heretical 1708 Brethren 1703 Wesley 1703 Edwards

1768 Schleiermacher 1762 Catherine the Great 1756 Seven Years War 1724 Kant 1712 Rousseau 1711 Hume 1789 FRENCH REVOLUTION 1776 AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1774 Russ-Turk War ends 1770 Haqel 1769 Napoleon

1792 Reformed U.S. 1791 Wesleyan Methodists 1789 Episcopalians U.S. 1789 Presbyterians U.S. 1785 Sunday School Society 1761 Caray 1759 Wilberforce 1748 Lutherans U.S. 1722 Zinzendorf-HERRNHUT 1713 Jansenists heretical 1708 Brethren 1703 Wesley 1703 Edwards

1833 Oxford Movement 1830 MORMONS 1822 Ritschl 1822 Catholic SPF 1817 Lutheran-Reformed 1813 Livingstone 1813 Kierkegaard CAMP MEETINGS 1848 COMMUNIST MANIFESTO 1847 Swiss Civil War 1846 IRISH FAMINE 1844 Nietzsche 1844 Opium War 1829 Graeca Indep. 1822 Pastaur 1815 Napoleon defeated 1809 Darwin 1798 Comte 1860 AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 1869 Gandhi 1861 Russian serfs freed 1855 British rule in India 1853 Perry-Japan 1848 Swiss Republic 1848 German Revolution 1898 Philippines U.S. 1894 Uganda Br. 1877 Serbia Indep. 1860 AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 1869 Gandhi 1861 Russian serfs freed 1855 British rule in India 1853 Perry-Japan 1848 Swiss Republic 1848 German Revolution

1844 YMCA 1846 AMA 1860 Liverpool Conf. 1865 HUDSON TAYLOR-CJM 1868 White Fathers-Africa 1868 CATHOLIC ACTION 1870 Russian OMS 1873 1st All-India Conf. 1877 CMS-Cen. Africa 1878 SALVATION ARMY 1886 Svmfm 1893 FMC 1895 WSCF 1908 HMC 1914 IRM 1911 Maryknolle 1910 EDINBUCH-WMC 1908 HMC 1947 IMC-Whitby

1860 Liverpool Conf. 1865 HUDSON TAYLOR-CJM 1868 White Fathers-Africa 1868 CATHOLIC ACTION 1870 Russian OMS 1873 1st All-India Conf. 1877 CMS-Cen. Africa 1878 SALVATION ARMY 1886 Svmfm 1893 FMC 1895 WSCF 1908 HMC 1914 IRM 1911 Maryknolle 1910 EDINBUCH-WMC 1908 HMC 1947 IMC-Whitby

1940 Youth for Christ 1939 CIMAOC 1938 IMC-Tebaran 1927 Australian NMC 1922 SPF under Pope 1921 IMC-Mohok

1919 Cath. Revival-Europe 1917 Russian church oppressed 1910 JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES 1908 FCCCA 1905 Cath. disesteab. in fr. 1905 Baptist World Alliance 1902 Free Church Congress 1901 Leo XIII Rerum Novarum 1886 Barth, Tillich 1882 Knights of Coumbus 1881 Methodist Ec. Conf. 1879 CHRISTIAN SCIENCC 1875 Schweitzer 1874 Berdyaeu

1919 League of Nations 1917 BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION 1914 WORLD WAR ONE 1914 Latin Am. Indep. 1905 Russia revolution 1900 BOXER REBELLION 1949 China Communist 1947-49 Iron Curtain falls 1945 United Nations 1939 WORLD WAR TWO 1937 Japan invades China 1933 Hitler in power 1929 Great Depression 1926 Kuomintang China

1961 WCC New Delhi

BY 1914 CHRISTIANITY AROUND THE GLOBE

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCILS

GROWTH OF PAPAL POWER
CATHOLIC REVIVAL
LITURGICAL MOVEMENT
1869 VATICAN COUNCIL
1864 Syllabus of Errors
1849 Wichern-Inner Mission
1846 EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE
1843 Scot Church Split
1840 Finnish Awakening
1837 Moody
1837 PRESBYTERIANS SPLIT
1834 Spurgeon
1833 Oxford Movement
1830 MORMONS
1822 Ritschl
1822 Catholic SPF
1817 Lutheran-Reformed
1813 Livingstone
1813 Kierkegaard
CAMP MEETINGS

EVANGELICAL AWAKENING
RISE OF METHODISM
1792 Finney
1792 Reformed U.S.
1791 Wesleyan Methodists
1789 Episcopalians U.S.
1789 Presbyterians U.S.
1785 Sunday School Society
1761 Caray
1759 Wilberforce
1748 Lutherans U.S.
1722 Zinzendorf-HERRNHUT
1713 Jansenists heretical
1708 Brethren
1703 Wesley
1703 Edwards

SOCIAL GOSPEL - LIBERALISM
FUNDAMENTALISM
NEO-ORTHODOXY

THE ENDS OF THE EARTH

0001

1950

IV. Recovery in Asia, and Expansion from the West. (1200-1600 AD)A. Reappearance and Fall of the Nestorians among the Mongols (1000 - 1105 A.D.).

The disappearance of Christianity from China at the end of the great Tang dynasty in the tenth century was not as fatal a blow to Asiatic Christianity as it might appear. For at this very time a new invigoration of the faith appeared in Central Asia among tribes who were destined to become the new dominant power of East Asia. These were the Mongols.

In the early eleventh century Nestorian missionaries began to convert the Keraites, a Turkish tribe in Central Asia, and through them reached out toward the distant Mongols in the far northeast. (Mongols and Turks, it will be remembered, are related tribal groups, distinguished principally by language differences).

About 1000 A.D. the prince of the Keraites asked for Christian baptism, and by the twelfth or thirteenth century the whole tribe was considered Christian. Already by that time the Keraites had been brought by their cousins, the Mongols, into the tribal confederation that the great Mongol Conqueror Jenghiz Khan (d. 1162) was beginning to mould into the most warlike Empire the world has ever known. It is in this period that the Mongols first became a political entity, and in the organization of the confederation the Keraites were greatly influential. Through them, it is thought, Nestorianism made its influence felt.

Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky credits Nestorians with shaping some of Jenghiz Khan's laws, i.e. the Yassa, or "Ten Commandments" of Mongols. The first law, for example, reads; all men are to believe in one God, Creator of Heaven and earth. Other laws forbid adultery. Drunkenness, however was tolerated. "Get drunk only three times a month. It would be better not to do so at all, but who can abstain altogether," said the commandment, reflecting perhaps a not un-Nestorian toleration of alcohol, if critical reports of 13th century Roman Catholic missionaries are not biased. (See Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, Russian and Asia. N.Y. Macmillan, 1933. p. 17)

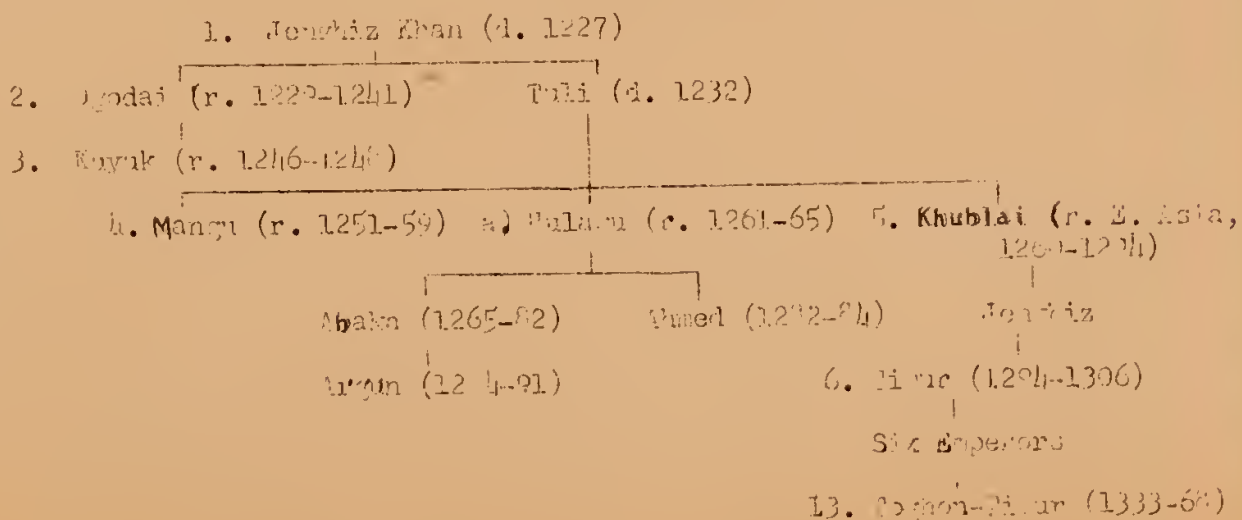
Part of the Kerait influence at the Mongol court was through royal marriage. Jenghiz Khan, to strengthen his position as ruler of the Mongols, married one of his sons, ^{emperors: Mongu Khan, Kublai} Tuli, to a Kerait princess, a Nestorian Christian. She became the mother of three ^{emperors: Mongu Khan, Kublai} Khan and Hulagu Khan. (A. W. Rockhill, The Journey of William of Rubruk to the Eastern Parts, 1253-55, Lond. Hakluyt Soc. 1900, n.p. 222; and E. H. Boule, Christians in China before 1150 A.D., p.).

The journals of the early Franciscan missionaries to China are full references to Nestorian influence at the court of the Mongols. In 1246 when John of Pian de Carpini reached the Emperor, Hulei Khan (son of Ogodai, son of Jenghiz) (1246-1258) with a letter from the Pope, he found that Turk

had surrounded himself with Christians who were assured that the Emperor would soon turn Christian (i.e. Nestorian) himself. His personal clerks were Nestorian, and a Nestorian chapel was placed in front of the royal tent, with public chants and the beating of tablets loudly taking place at appointed hours. (W.W. Rockhill, op. cit. p. 20)

Some years later, in 1253, a second Roman Catholic envoy, William of Rubruck, reached the Mongol court at Karakorum. Mangu Khan (1251-1259), son of Tuli, was now Emperor. His mother was the Kerait princess, Soyorghactanibagi, whom Jenghiz had married to his son Tuli. Rubruck found that the capital had twelve heathen temples, two Mohammedan mosques, and one Nestorian church (Rockhill, op. cit. p. 221). The claim that Mangu was actually baptized by an Armenian bishop, attributed to Haithon (Hist. Orient. p. 38f.) who dates the event in 1253 when the Armenian king, Heythum I, visited the Mongol court, is disputed by Rockhill. (op. cit. p. 239) In all of Rubruck's contacts with the Great Khan, Mangu, notably in the famous debate before the court between Manichees, Moslems, Nestorians and Rubruck, representing Roman Catholicism, the Emperor only listened tolerantly. He gave no sign of conversion. In fact, afterwards he confided his own faith to Rubruck as follows: "We...believe there is only one God...but as God gives us the different fingers of the hand, so he gives to men divers ways..." His parting word was almost a confession that his basic faith remained shamanist. "God gave you the Scriptures," he said, "and you do not keep them; he gave us diviners, we do what they tell us, and we live in peace." (Rockhill, op. cit. pp. 230 ff., esp. 235, 236)

The reigns of the three brothers (Ghaghi, Gulagu and Khublai), from 1251 to 1294 A.D., marked the high point of Nestorianism in the Yuan dynasty, and under Khublai it was brought back into China. The following dynastic chart indicates the central position of this period in the dynastic history:



The Keraites were not the only important Nestorian influence in Mongol China. Three of the powerful Mongol tribes were in large part Christian. The Keraites, as has been noted, were in high offices in the courts of Jenghiz, Ogodai and Hangu, thanks to their marriage connection with the Khans. The Onguts were another tribe with a large concentration of Christians. They were strategically important for their control of the major land routes between China and Mongolia. A third tribe, the Turkish Uighurs, were still militarily significant and had been converted by the Nestorians in considerable numbers since the days of the T'ang dynasty.

Sometime around the year 1270, with the defeat of Sung China, Khublai Khan became Emperor of China and moved his capital from Karakorum in Mongolia to Cambaluc (Peking). With him the Nestorians came back into China to reestablish their archbishopric in the capital, and in Khublai's reign Chinese Nestorianism reached its apex of international significance, and for the first time Nestorian missions became a two-way process with the east sending its missions to the west.

About 1275 A.D., Mark (b. 1245), son of a Uighur archdeacon, and his friend, another Nestorian named Rabban Sauma, left Peking for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Stopping on the way at the Nestorian Patriarchate in Baghdad, they visited some of the ancient Nestorian holy places--Arbela, and Misibis, site of the ancient theological seminary. When troubled political conditions prevented them from proceeding to Jerusalem, they decided to stay in Persia rather than return to China, although the Patriarch urged Mark to go back and offered him the position of Metropolitan (Archbishop) of China. Mark finally consented, and was consecrated archbishop in 1280 A.D. at the age of 35. But the "young, handsome, dagger-armed" prelate was destined never to see his homeland again. For more than two years he tried to cross the high roads of Asia, but wars blocked his passage. In the meantime, the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church had died, and unexpectedly the high council chose as his successor the stranger from far-off China. He was shocked. "I cannot even speak Syriac (the language of the church)," he said. But the wise Nestorians who had lived successively under Roman, Persian and Arab conquerors, knew that in the 13th century it was the Mongols who ruled the world, and they were therefore determined for political reasons to have a Mongol Patriarch.

Their wisdom was soon apparent. In 1257 Khublai Khan, ruler in the east, acting on the advice of the Ilkhan Arghun, ruler in the west, appointed the Patriarch's Chinese friend and companion, the bishop Rabban Sauma, to represent the Mongols on a diplomatic mission to Rome and Paris. Once again the star of the Nestorian Church had risen high, as the bishop from the east met with dignity the kings of the west, Philip the Fair of France, and Edward the First of England.

Politics, however, are an uncertain base at best for power and stability in the Christian church, and the Nestorians who had pinned their hopes for revival to the Mongol Empires were not to enjoy the results of political favor for long.

1200 - 1600

- 4 -

The immediate results of close connections with the Western Khans in Persia and Syria gave a temporary illusion of a return to Nestorian power. Under Arghun, who died in 1291, and under his two brothers who succeeded him, Kaikhata (1291-95) and Baiju (1295), the Mongol Patriarchate had great influence. The government gave lavishly to the building of magnificent Nestorian churches, particularly in and around Baghdad. But none of the Khans was actually converted or baptized. When Baiju died soon after he ascended the throne, his successor was Kaikhata's son, Ghazan. And Ghazan was an ardent Moslem.

Swiftly the prospects of the Nestorians in Persia changed. Churches were destroyed by the Moslems. The Patriarch, Mongol though he was, did not escape arrest. Hung up, head downward, with a handkerchief full of ashes over his mouth, he almost suffocated and barely escaped with his life. Intermittent persecution continued for years. Only the friendship of a Christian queen saved him. When churches were rebuilt, they were quickly destroyed again. Christians were heavily taxed. The Mongol Patriarch, Mark, known as Mar Yabballaha III, who had been crowned at Mar Koke near Baghdad on Nov. 2, 1261 with such high hopes of political success, died amidst widespread persecution in 1317 A.D. The Nestorians never again came back to power. (See F.S. Koelle, Christians in China before 1550 A.D., pp. 94-127)

Persecuted by the last of the Ilkhans in Persia, and only tolerated by the Great Khans in Peking, the Nestorians did not survive the break-up of the Mongol Empire. In Persia the rule of the Mongols crumbled after 1335, and the Moslems once more took over the Near East.

In China, where a report about 1330 A.D. declared that there were more than 30,000 Nestorians in Cathay, the Mongol Emperors fell to the victorious Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368, and the Nestorians fell with them. Peking was almost destroyed, and in the massacres that followed, all that had connection with the Mongols was rooted out. "With the Mongols vanished their protégés, the foreigners," writes Michael Prawdin, in his The Mongol Empire. "The Christian settlements and the Mohammedan colonies were destroyed, the Nestorians ceased to exist, the priests were murdered, even the cemeteries were dismantled." (M. Prawdin, The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy, London, Allen Lane, 1940, p. 388). The key word in the above sentence, perhaps, is "foreigner". After seven hundred years in China, the Nestorians were still foreigners—first Syrians, then Keraites and Uighurs and Mongols. But not Chinese. Because they had failed to win the Chinese to Christ, they vanished from China almost without a trace.

William of Rubruck, in his melancholy description of Nestorians at the court of the 13th century Khans suggests why they had lost the power to convert. As a Roman Catholic he certainly exaggerates Nestorian weakness, but

1200 - 1600

- 5 -

from the picture he presents it is questionable whether Mongolian Nestorianism was any longer really Christian. "In fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians," he writes, about 1254 A.D. "(They) know nothing. For they say their service and have sacred books in Suriac (a language of which they are ignorant) from which they sing just like uneducated monks amongst ourselves; and in this way they have become wholly corrupt. First they are usurers and drunkards. Some of them also, who live with the Tartars, have several wives like the Tartars. When they go into church they wash their lower limbs like the Saracens. They eat flesh on Friday.. A bishop comes out rarely in that land--scarcely once perhaps in fifty years. They cause all their boys, even in the cradle, to be ordained priests, so that almost all their men are priest, and after that they marry, which thing is plainly contrary to the decrees of the Fathers; and they commit bigamy, for even the priest marry a second wife when the first is dead. They are also given to simony, administering no sacrament without a fee. They are concerned for their wives and children so they strive not for the spread of the faith but for gain. And so it comes to pass that when any of them bring up some of the sons of the Moal (Mongol) nobles, although they teach them the Gospel and the faith, yet by their evil life and covetousness they still more estrange them from the Christian religion; for the lives of the Moals themselves.. are more innocent than their lives." (Rubruck, in Rockhill, op. cit. pp. 157-159)

So completely did Christianity disappear with the fall of the Mongols that it is not clear what really happened to the Christians. Most of what was left of the Mongols became Buddhist. So, too, probably did the Nestorians in China. In Persia and Central Asia the Mongols became Moslem. Timur (Tamerlane, 1336-1405 A.D.), last of the Mongol conquerors rode out of his capital in Samarkand and butchered Nestorians all across Central Asia and Persia. Only a few sockets found refuge in the high mountains and survived, notably in Kurdistan (Assyria), where some remnants exist to this day.

1200-1600 AD

IV. RECOVERY IN ASIA AND EXPANSION FROM THE WEST. (1200-1600 A.D.)A. 몽고에서의 경교의 재현과 쇠퇴 (A.D. 1,000-1405)

10세기 거대한 당왕조 말기에 중국에서 기독교가 자취를 감추는 것은 아시아적 기독교가 다시 재현하지 못할 만큼의 결정적인 타격은 되지 못하였다. 당시 중앙아시아에서 동부 아시아에 새로운 지배력을 가지게 될 종족 가운데 새로운 신앙의 격려가 발생하게 되었다. 이 종족이 바로 몽고족을 가르켜 하는 말이다.

11세기초에 네스토리안 선교사들은 중앙아시아의 터키족인 Kerait's 족을 개종시키기 시작하였고 이들을 통하여 멀리 동북쪽에 있는 몽고족에게 까지 전도할 수 있게 되었다. (몽고족과 터키족은 종족적으로도 같은 부류에 속하나 언어학적 차이에서만 구별된다)

A.D. 약 1000년경에 Kerait's 족의 한 왕자가 기독교의 세례를 받았다고 요청한 일이 있었으며 12-13세기에 와서는 온 종족이 다 기독교인이 되었다고 간주된다. 이미 그때 이 Kerait's 족은 그들의 사촌격인 몽고족과 동맹을 맺게 되었으며 이런 동맹이 몽고의 대정복자 징기스칸 (1162년 출생)으로 하여금 사상이 다 아는 호전적인 황제를 낳게 하였다. 이때가 바로 몽고족이 처음으로 정치적인 존재가 되는 때였다. 이런 동맹 안에서 Kerait's 족은 상당한 영향력을 가졌고 이들을 통해서 네스토리안 사상이 그 영향력을 발휘하였으리라고 본다.

Lobanov-Rostovsky 황태자는 징기스칸의 법률들 즉 Yassak 또는 몽고족의 "10계명" 같은 것을 만들게 한 것은 네스토리안 들이라고 믿는다. 예를 들면, 첫째 계명은 모든 사람은 하늘과 땅의 창조주이신 한분의 하나님을 믿어야 한다고 기록되어 있다. 다른 계명들은 간음을 금하고 있다. 그렇지만 음주는 허용하고 있다. "한달에 세번만 마시도록 하라, 전혀 마지시 않은 것 보다는 낱을 것이다. 그러나 아주 금주할 수 있는자는 그렇게 하도록 하라"고 기록하므로, 만일 13세기 로마 개톨릭 선교사들의 비판적인 보고가 치우친 것이 이니라고 할것 같으면 아마 비 네스토리안적이 아닌 금주법을 반영하고 있는 것이 된다. (참조. A. 토바노브. 토스노브스키 황태자, Russian & Asia. N.Y. Macmillan 1933. p. 17)

몽고 궁정에 끼친 Kerait's 족의 영향의 일면은 왕족들과의 결혼에 까지 이른다. 몽고의 지배자로서 그의 자리를 강화한 징기스칸은 그의 아들중의 하나인 Tuli 들 크리스찬인 Kerait 공주와 결혼시켰다. 그녀는 세사람의 칸과 Hulagu 칸의 어머니가 되었다. (W.W. Rockhill, The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts, 1253-55..., Lord. Hakluyt Soc. 1900, n.p. and G.H. Moule, Christians in China Before 1550 A.D., p.).

초기 프란시스코 선교사들의 중국에 대한 기행문엔 네스토리안이 몽고 궁정에 끼친 영향에 충분한 증거들을 제시한다. 1246년 Pian de Carpini 의 요한이 로마 교황의 친서를 가지고 Kuyuk 칸 (징기스칸의 아들 Ogodai 의 아들) 황제를 만났을 때 그는 Kuyuk 황제가 곧 크리스찬이 될것을 확신하고 있는 크리스찬이 될것을 확신하고 있는 크리스찬들로 둘러 쌓여 있는 것을 발견했다. 그의 비서는 네스토리안이었으며, 네스토리안 교회는 궁정 바로 앞에 자리잡고 있었으며 정한시간이면 찬미소리와 징을 두드리는 소리가 크게 들리곤 하였다. (W.W. Rockhill, op. cit. p. 29)

몇년후 1253년에 두번째 로마 캐톨릭 사절단 루복의 William 이 Karakorum 에 있는 몽고의 궁정을 찾아갔을 때 Tuli 의 아들 Mangu 칸이 황제에 있었다. 그의 어머니는 징기스칸이 그의 아들 Tuli 에게 결혼하게 한 Kerait 공주 Soyorghactanibagi 였다. Rubruck 는 수도 Karakorum 에 12개의 이방 종교의 사원이 있는 것을 발견했는데 그중 둘은 모하멜 회당이었고 하나는 네스토리안 교회였다. (Rockhill, op. cit. p. 221) Mangu 황제가 어느 알미니안 감독에게 실제로 세례를 받았다는 주장은 알미니안왕 Heythum 1세가 몽고 궁정을 방문한 1253년으로 측정 한 Haithon 의 주장으로 Rockhill 에 의해 논쟁이 된다. Rubruck가 Mangu 대칸과의 접촉에서 보면 궁정에서 마니교와 모슬렛교, 네스토리안과 로마 캐톨릭을 대표하는 Rubruck 사이에 있었던 유명한 토론에서 대제는 오로지 주의 깊게 듣고 있을 뿐이었다. 그는 개종에 대한 아무런 싸인도 보여주지 않았다. 사실 후에 그는 Rubruck 가 다음과 같이 말하는 것과 같은 자기 나름의 신앙을 갖게 되었다. "우리는 한분만이신 하나님을 믿는다. 그러나 하나님이 우리에게 서로 다른 손가락을 주신것 같이 인간들에게 여러 갈래의 길을 주셨다." 그의 신앙은 거의가 샤마니즘에 근거하고 있었다. "하나님은 너희들에게 성경을 주셨다. 그러나 너희들은 그것을 지키지 못했다. 그는 우리에게 점장이틀 주셨다. 우리는 그들이 우리에게 알려 주는데도 한다. 그리고 우리는 평화롭게 산다." (Rockhill, op. cit. pp. 230ff., esp. 235, 236)

A.D. 1251-1294년 까지 2형제의 통치가 (Mangu, Hulagu, Khublai) Yuan 왕조에서 가장 네스토리아니즘이 고조된 때라고 본다. 그리고 두부라이 치하에서는 중국으로 다시 네스토리아니즘이 들어가기도 했다.

1706 - Ziegenbalg - Tranquebar
1793 - Carey reaches India
1807 - Morrison to China

Roman Catholic Missions in Asia.

A. Medieval Period: Catholic Christianity under the Mongols (1205-1368)

B. The Renewal of Roman Catholic Missions ^{in Ming China} (1541-1610)

1. The first permanent mission in China (1579-1610)
Valignani, Pires, Ricci. Chinese: ^{Paul Hsu - Shanghai} Matteo Ricci - Hangchow.
2. ^{1675 - Joxe fang permission for maps in Latin.} First period of ~~another~~ persecutions at the end of the Ming dynasty (1616-16)
3. Adam Schall von Bell + Ch. Expansion in early Ching China (1644-64).

C. The Rites Controversy

1. Jesuit principle of accommodation: dress, sacrifice

1615 - received permission to have mass in Ch

2. 1643 - Dominicans and Franciscans question Jesuit compromise.

Morales (Dominican) expelled from ^{Spain} China in 1637, attacks Jesuits in Europ.

Three issues:

① What Chinese word for God: Shang Ti, Tien permitted by Jesuits
Tien Chou - God of Heaven - preferred by

② Ceremonies honoring Confucius + ancestors?

④ No religious significance?

⑤ No rel. sign. contrary to bn belief?

⑥ Useable with modification? Ricci suggested that Chinese themselves should decide - hope they would modify Chinese practices with Catholic practice honoring dead + burial.

③ Custom: burials, community festivals.

|| China Jesuits support Ricci for accommodation.

Japan - Jesuits take opposite position. Longobardi (Ricci's successor in China) also takes opposite position.

3. Pope approves Jesuit position: decree of 1656. Allowed accommodation with ① profession of faith, and ② specific disavowal of superstitions involved.

4. But French near-apostolic Charles Margot forbids use of Tien + Shang Ti

5. Jesuits appeal to Emperor Kang-Hsi - who declares that honors to Confucius were not religious but civil commemoration; and that sacrifices to Tien were not to the sky but to the Supreme God. 1700.

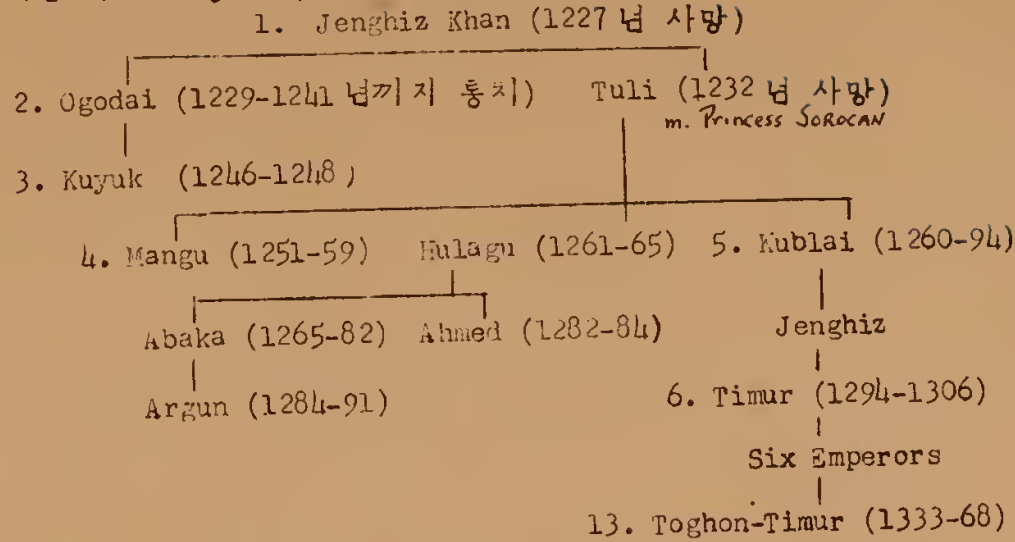
6. Rome not happy with appeal to Emperor on theological question. 1704. Forbid all but Tien Chou as name for God, and sacrifices to Confucius

7. Pope's special legate, Charles de Tournon - arrives 1705. Emperor Margot and Tournon ordered out of China by angry emperor. Only missionaries with official permission can

8. Papal bull of 1715. Anti-Jesuit (except for purely civil or political ceremonies).
1742. No exceptions

Note ch. inadaptability to Chinese conditions - but was not cause of decline - later.

다음 차트는 당시 역사의 중심인물들의 표시다.



Keraiits 족만이 몽고에서 네스토리안에게 중요한 영향을 끼친 족속은 아니었다. 몽고족중에서 세 종족이 강력한 영향력을 끼쳤다. 이미 언급한것 같이 Keraiits 족은 징기스, 오고다이, 만구 조정에서 고관의 자리를 차지했으며, 역대 Khan들과의 혼인관계를 누렸다. Onguts 족도 기독교인들과 광범위한 연관성을 지닌 또 하나의 종족이었다. 이 종족은 중국과 몽고 사이의 요지들 관할하고 있었다는데서 정책적으로 중요한 비중을 차지하고 있었다. 세째 종족은 터키의 Uighurs 족으로서 당왕조 이후 가장 많은 숫자가 네스토리안으로 개종된 군사적으로 중요한 비중을 차지하고 있었다.

1270년대에 송나라가 망하자 루비라이는 중국의 황제가 되어 수도를 몽고의 카라콕에서 북경 (Cambaluc)으로 옮겼다. 이와 함께 네스토리안은 중국으로 되돌아가서 수도에다 대감독을 다시 두게 되었으며, 루비라이 치하의 중국 네스토리안은 국제적으로 절정기에 달하였는데, 처음으로 동쪽에서 서쪽으로 선교사를 보내는 상모교류의 선교사업을 하게 되었다.

1275년 (A.D.)경 Uigher 부감독의 아들인 Mark (1245년생) 그의 친구 Rabban Sauma 라는 네스토리안이 북경을 떠나 예루살렘 순례여행을 떠났다. 도중에 머물러 총주교 관할 구역인 박다드에 들러서 옛 신교가 있었던 Arbela 와 Nisibis성지를 방문했다. 정치적인 사정 때문에 더 이상 예루살렘에 가지 못하게 되자 그들은 주교가 Mark 에게 돌아갈 것을 권유하고 그에게 중국 대주교의 지위를 제공하였지만 중국으로 돌아가기는 커녕 필리아에 머물기도 결정하였다. 결국 마크는 승려하고 1280년에 35세의

나이토 대주교에 협신을 하였다. 그러나 "짐고 미남의 보족 콧수염"의 고위 성직자는 다시는 그의 고향 땅을 볼 수 없게 되었다. 2년 이상이나 그는 아시아로 가는 길을 넓히려 하였으나 여러 차례의 전쟁이 그의 갈길을 차단시킨 셈이었다. 그러는 동안에 그곳 네스토리안 교회의 총주교가 사망하자 기대에 없었던 중국에서 온 이 나그네를 그의 후계자도 최고 공회(가신)가 선택하였다. 그는 중격을 받았다. "나는 시리아를 할 줄 모릅니다." (교회의 통용어) 고 그는 말했다. 그러나 토마 치하에서 성공적으로 살아나온 네스토리안들은 증명했다. 펠시아와 아랍 정복자들은 13세기에 세계의 지배자는 몽고족이란 것을 알았고 이런 정치적 이유 때문에 몽고족 총주교를 세우도록 결정하였다.

그들의 지혜는 곧 나타났다. 1257년 동방의 통치자 쿠비라이는 서방의 통치자 Illhan Argun 의 조언을 받아들여 총주교의 중국인 친구요, 동료인 라반 사유마 감독을 몽고의 대표로 토마와 파리에 외교사절을 보내었다. 다시 한번 네스토리안 교회의 별이 높이 올라갔으니 동방에서 간 감독이 불란서의 필립공과 영국의 에드워드 1세와 같은 서방의 여러 왕들의 권위와 접하였다.

그러나 정치적으로 기독교회의 안정과 세력이 명확하게 그 자리를 굳힌것은 아니었다. 몽고제국에서 부흥을 이트켜 보려던 그들의 희망은 고정되었고 더 이상 정치적인 호감을 얻지 못하게 되었다.

펠시아와 시리아에서의 서방 칸들과의 관련이 단절되는 직접적인 결과는 네스토리안 세력의 일시적인 침체상을 주었다. 1291년에 사망한 Arghun 치하에서, 그의 뒤를 이은 두형제 Kaikhata (1291-95) 와 Baidu (1295) 치하에서의 몽고인 총주교의 지위는 대단한 영향력을 가졌다. 정부는 거대한 네스토리안 교회 건물을 지어 주었는데 특히 바다드 시내와 그 변두리에다 지어 주었다. 그러나 칸들 중에는 한 사람도 개종을 하거나 세례를 받지 않았다. Baidu가 즉위한후 곧 죽어버리자 Kaikhata's 의 아들 Ghazan 이 후계자가 되었는데 그는 열렬한 모슬렘교도였다.

펠시아에서 네스토리안들의 전망은 신속한 범화를 입었다. 교회는 모슬렘교도들로 파괴되었다. 그러나 동고인인 총주교는 도망치지 않았다. 그는 붙잡혀 매달렸다. 입에는 재가 묻은 수건으로, 머리는 떨어 뜨린채 거의 질식사상태에 있었으나 거의 죽음 직전에서 도망쳐 나왔다. 혹독한 박해는 여러해 동안 계속되었다. 어느 크리스찬 왕후의 우정으로 말미암아 그는 생명을 건질 수가 있었다. 그런중에서도 교회가 재건되면 모슬렘들은 재빨리 파괴를 다시하였다. 그리고 크리스찬들에겐 막중한 과세를 부담시켰다. 몽고인 총주교 마르는 말 안바라 3세라는 이름으로

알려졌는데 그는 고도의 정치적 성공의 기대를 받으면서 1281년 11월 2일에 빅다브 근처 말 코카에서 재관된 사람으로 A.D. 1317년 박해가 한창 퍼져난 누렵에 사망하였다. 그러므로 네스토리안들은 다시는 힘을 얻을 수 없었다. (참조 Xian in China before 1550 A.D. pp. 94-127)

펄시아에서 일어난 일칸스의 마지막 박해도 인하여, 북경에서는 칸대제들도 관용을 누린 네스토리안들은 쇠퇴해가고 있는 몽고 제국에서 더 지탱할 수가 없었다. 펄시아에서의 몽고의 통치는 1335년 이후엔 사라지게 되었고 모슬렘이 다시 한번 근동 지방을 석권하였다.

중국에 있어서는, A.D. 1330년경 기록엔 Cathay.에는 네스토리인들이 3천명 이상이 있었다는 언급이 있으나 1368년에 승리를 거둔 명 왕조에 몽고제국이 망하자 그들과 함께 망했다는 이야기가 있다. 이때 북경은 거의가 파괴되었고 대량학살을 당했으며 몽고족과 관련이된 모든 것들은 뿌리를 뽑혔다.

"몽고족과 함께 외국인인 피보호자들도 자취를 감추었다." 고 Michael Prawdin 이 그의 저서 몽고제국에서 밝혔다.

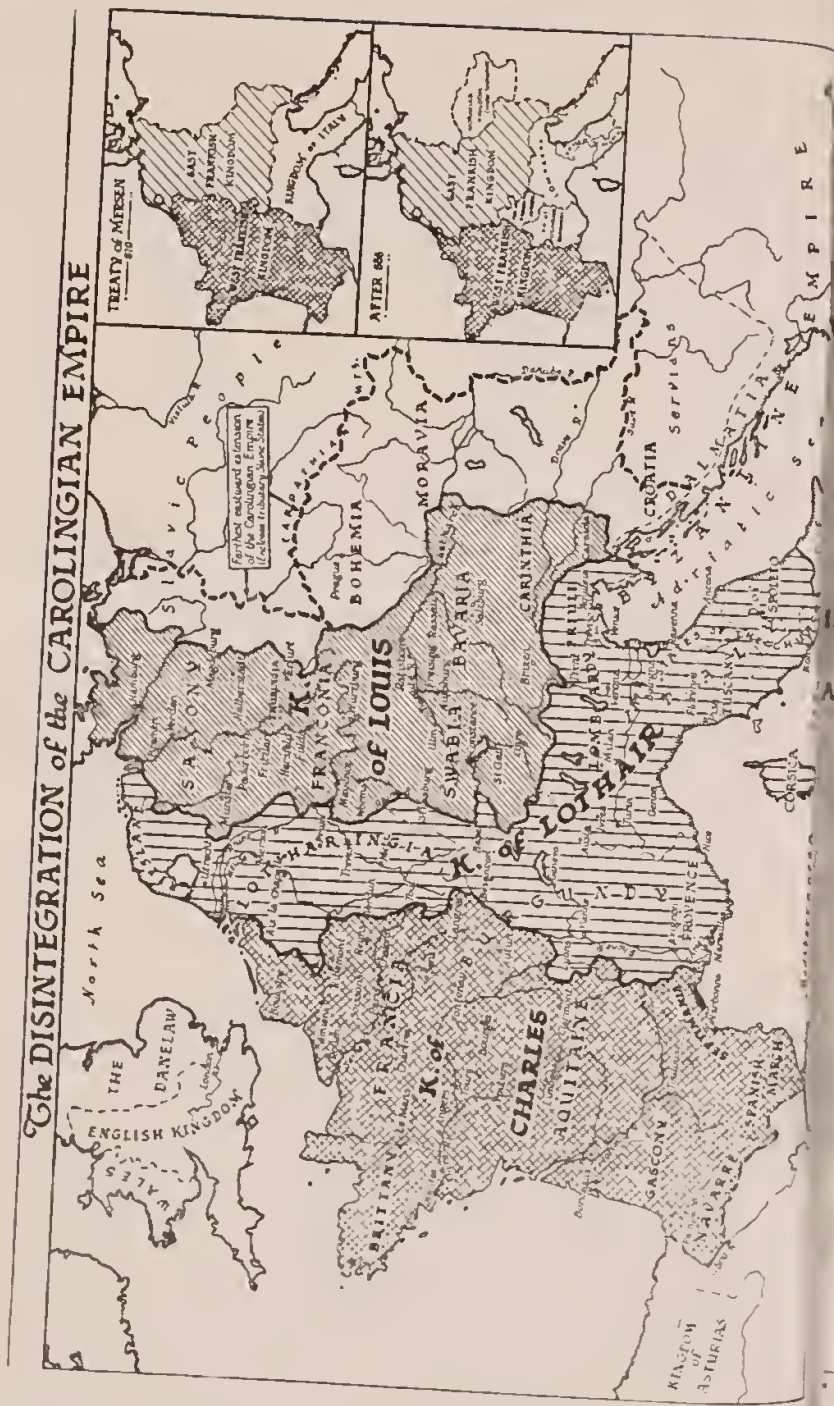
"기독교인들의 정착지나 모하멜의 식민지는 파괴되었다. 감독들도 소멸되었고 승려들은 피살되었으며 묘지에 있는 비석까지 거뭇치웠다." (M. Prawdin, The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy, London, Allen & Unwin 1940, p. 388).

윗 문장의 주된 단어는 아마도 "외국인" 이라는데 있다고 본다. 중국에서는 7백년 후에도 네스토리안은, 첫 번째로는 시리아인들 속에, 그다음은 커라일인들 속에, 그리고 위굴스와 몽고인들 속에서 외국인으로 존재했었지 중국인이 아니었다. 중국사람을 그리스도에게도 이끌지 못했기 때문에 중국에서는 흔적 하나 없이 소멸이 되고 말았다.

투부둑의 윌리엄이 13세기 Khans 왕조에서 어쩌서 개종자들을 얻지 못했는가에 대해 우울한 묘사를 준다. 토마 캐도릭 입장에서 그는 네스토리안의 약점을 든다. 그러나 그가 제시한 입장에 따라보면 과연 몽고인 네스토리아니즘이 참된 기독교도들이었든가 하는 의문을 가지게 된다. 그는 1254년경에 대하여 다음과 같이 기록하였다. "Cathay 에 있는 15개 도시에 네스토리안들이 있었다. 그러나 그들은 아무것도 몰랐다. 왜냐하면 그들은 예배에서나 경전사용에서 전적으로 시리아어를 사용했기 때문에 (그들은 시리아어를 전혀 못하는 편임) 무식한 승려와 같이 노래를 부르듯이 하였다. 이런식으로 그들은 완전히 부패하게 되었다. 먼저 그들은 고리대금업자가 되었고 알콜중독자가 되었다. 그리고 탈라스인과 함께 살아오고 있던 사람들중에 더러는 그들처럼 여러사람의 부인을 거느리고 있었다.

그들이 교회에 갈 때는 마치 사라센 사람들처럼 손과 발을 씻었다. 금요일에도 고기를 먹었다. 감독이 그곳을 방문하기는 하지만 15년만에 한번 올까 말까였다. 그들은 그들의 사내 아이들에게는 심지어 요람속에 있는 아이들에게까지 제사장이 되었으면 했다. 그리하여 남자들은 거의가 제사장이 되었고 그후에 결혼까지 하였다. 이런일은 분명히 신부가 될때 한 신서와는 상반되는 일이었다. 그리고 그들은 이중 결혼을 하였다. 심지어 신부의 첫번째 아내가 죽으면 부인을 또 얻는 일이 있었다. 그리고 성직을 매매하였고 돈을 받지 않고는 성례를 베풀지 않았다. 그들은 그들의 처자에 빠져서는 복음을 전파하지도 않고 거둬들이려 애쓰는 편이었다. 그리하여 그들 모두가 몽고 귀족의 아들이 되는 때가 오게 되었다. 그렇지만 그들에게 아무리 복음과 신앙을 가르친다 할찌라도 그들의 사악한 생활과 죄악이 기독교인으로서의 삶과는 거리감이 있는 것이었다. 오히려 일반 몽고인의 삶이 제사장인 그들의 삶보다 더 순결하였다.

그러므로 몽고와 함께 기독교가 완전히 사라져 버렸기 때문에 실제로 크리스찬들에게 일어난 일이 무엇인지는 분명치 않다. 살아남은 대부분의 사람들은 거의가 불교도도 변하였다. 마찬가지로 중국에서도 그렇게 되었으리라 본다. 펠시아나 중앙아시아의 동교인은 모슬렘이 되었다. 몽고의 마지막 정복자 티무르는 (1336-1405 A.D.) 수도 사말칸드를 떠나 온 중앙아시아와 펠시아에 까지 다니며 네스오리안들을 죽였다. 오직 높은 산, 깊은 산속에 숨어 있었던 몇몇 사람들만이 살아 남았는데, 율디스탄 (시리아) 에 있었던 사람들만이 오늘 까지 존재해 있다.



CHAPTER VIII

THE DISINTEGRATION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

"The posterity of Charlemagne were unequal to the task of preserving the empire which he had formed, and it speedily fell asunder by its own weight . . . about thirty years after the death of Charlemagne (A.D. 814) . . . the empire was divided among his descendants, and out of it were constituted the separate kingdoms,—France, Germany, and Italy, by the treaty of Verdun, August 11th, 843." *

- I. With the passing of Charlemagne, his empire was destined to disintegrate.
 - A. Charlemagne was succeeded by Louis the Pious.
 1. He was the only legitimate son at Charlemagne's death.
 - a. The empire passed to him.
 - b. There are great differences of opinion regarding his character.
 - (1). He would probably have been a good ruler under less responsibility.
 - (2). He had been successful as king of Aquitaine.
 2. There are various reasons for his partial failure.
 - a. First, he dismissed his father's councilors.
 - (1). He believed they were corrupt.
 - (2). He alienated the strongest supporters of the throne.
 - (3). He had little in common with the East-Frankish nobles.
 - b. Second, his great piety proved a handicap.
 - (1). It led him into subserviency to the pope, which caused him to lose prestige, consequently power.
 - (2). He was better fitted for the monastery than the throne.
 - c. Third, his own sons—Lothair, Louis, and Charles, "The Bald"—were greedy for power even during their father's life time, and so precipitated much civil discontent.

* From Wilson, Outlines of History, p. 260.



- (2). They became a constant menace to the eastern empire.
 - (3). The emperor, Alexius, failed in his efforts to expel the Turks, and so called upon the pope for aid. He also asked for aid against the Patzinaks, located to the north of the Black Sea.
3. This was the real beginning of the great movement known as the Crusades.

II. Pope Urban II inaugurated the crusading movement at the Council of Clermont in 1095.

A. Conditions in Europe were "ripe" for the movement.

1. The policy of the papacy was definitely aggressive.
 - a. Urban hoped to head the movement himself.
 - b. The action might cause prestige to the papacy and unity to the church.
2. The period was one of unrest in the west.
 - a. Men of Europe, especially Englishmen,¹ hoped to build up lost fortunes.
 - b. The conflict between church and state had not been helpful: it had brought misery to many people.
 - c. Pope Urban felt that the crusading movement would detract from the civil conflict between the princes and the popes in feudal Europe.
 - d. The love of fighting and adventure was part of the spirit of the age.
 - (1). Fighting was the sport of the nobles.
 - (2). Conquerors were looking for more spoils.
 - (3). Adventure always held a glamour for the carefree and the brave.
3. The teachings of the church gave impetus to the movement.
 - a. Men were interested in a future life.
 - b. Asceticism had been growing; the belief that a life of suffering would benefit them in the life to come was prevalent.
 - c. Sinners were willing to undertake any pious task for forgiveness of their sins.
 - d. Pilgrimages were favored as a form of penance; sinners often made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as penance for great crimes. Many pilgrimages had been made before the organized movement of the crusades.

B The Council of Clermont was called to lay plans for the crusades.

¹ Due to loss of land as a result of the Norman invasion in 1066.

The DUCHIES of CENTRAL EUROPE, 919-1125



Prominent broken line enclosing shaded areas of map shown above indicates boundary of the Empire (exclusive of most of Italy).

- K. of Burgundy (K. of Arles)**
Became united, 933
To the Empire, 1033 to 1034
- Duchy of Bohemia**
Western section under Poland, 1003 to 1004.
Moravia under Poland, 1003 to 1029
- Bavarian East March (Ostmark):**
(MARGRAVATE OF AUSTRIA)
Hungarian, 907 to 955
Duchy, 1156
- March of Carinthia**
Established about 970
Separated from Carinthia, 1035
- Duchy of Carinthia**
Separated from Bavaria, 976
- March of Carniola and March of Istria**
Separated from Carinthia, 1040
- March of Styria (From 1055)**
Duchy, 1180
- March of Verona**
To Bavaria, 952
To Carinthia, 976

2. Henry was elected "king of the Saxons and Franks."
 - a. He was first recognized by only part of the Germans.
 - b. At the end of six years of war he gained recognition from all of them, and so accomplished the founding of the German state.
- B. However, Germany was not a nation in the modern or political sense until long after 1800.
 1. Germany was little more than a great number of practically independent states.
 2. Germany was not a true nation until the confederation under the leadership of Prussia became known as the German Empire, which included the previously independent kingdoms, principalities, and free towns.
- C. Henry organized and fortified Germany.
 1. He adopted offensive and defensive measures against foreign foes.
 2. He founded and fortified many cities.
 - a. He has been called the "Founder of Cities."
 - b. Cities were in reality little more than garrisons.
 3. He replaced the infantry with cavalry.
- III. **With the election of Otto I in 936 the prestige of the crown increased.**
 - A. Otto was the eldest legitimate son of Henry I.
 1. He was proposed by his father and elected by the assembly of nobles.
 2. The ceremonies of the election indicate the position of royalty during the period.
 - B. Otto weakened the power of the dukes and suppressed the uprisings in 941.
 1. He took possession of the duchies and gained territory from the Slavic tribes.
 2. He did not attempt to abolish the duchies, but they were placed in the hands of his family.
 - a. Some were returned to the original dukes, but they were usually divided, thus limiting their power.
 - b. None of the duchies offered a long succession of able rulers; consequently, the duchies fell into the hands of the king.
 - C. The Hungarian invasions were ended during his reign.
 1. The Hungarians had been called in to aid the revolt of the princes, but Otto defeated them in 955 at Lechfeld.

SOCIALITY

MODALITY

SECULAR

BERGUNDIANS
FRANKS
ANGLES &
SAXONS

SCOTLAND
&
ENGLAND

BERBERS

BY 500 MONASTICISM
FIRMLY ESTABLISHED IN
CATHOLIC CHURCH

459 SIMON STYLITES
c. 415 MONASTERIES IN GAUL

MONASTICISM SPREADS TO MESOPOTAMIA, SYRIA, & PALESTINE

BY 500 MAJORITY OF EMPIRE
PROFESS CHRISTIANITY

496 CLOVIS BAPTIZED

451 FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

445 VALENTINIAN'S EDICT

431 THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

428 NESTORIAN'S APPOINT BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE

410 AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD

596 GREGORY I SENDS AUGUSTINE

575 CASSIODORUS FOUNDS MONASTERIES

563 COLUMBA FOUNDS IONA

550 COLUMBAN TO FRANCE & SWITZERLAND

535 BENEDICTINE RULE COMPOSED

529 BENEDICT OF NURSIA FOUNDS MONTE CASINO

527 FIRST MISSIONS IN HUNIA

590 GREGORY I

589 SPANISH VISIGOTHS EMBRACE CATHOLICISM

549 NESTORIANS SEND BISHOP TO HUNS

542 EPISCOPATE OF BARDAEUS

538 CHURCH DEDICATED

530 NESTORIANS TAKE OVER CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

523 PERSECUTION IN ARABIA

EMPIRE FLOURISHES

476 END OF ROMAN EMPIRE

475 LAST ROMAN EMPEROR

455 VANDALS SACK ROME

445 ATTILA WIELDS POWER

430 VANDALS ENTER SPAIN

410 FALL OF ROME

* BENEDICTINE RULE FAVORED BY GREGORY

BENEDICTINE RULE IN GAUL

HOLLAND & BELGIUM

NESTORIAN MISSION SOUTH OF CASPIAN

CANONS REGULAR BECOME PROMINENT

750 BENEDICT OF ANIANE

688 THEODORE OF TARSUS

673 BEDE

635 NESTORIAN MONKS TO CHINA

722 WINFRITH TO GERMANS

DARTHOLOMEW PREACHES IN WESTERN INDIA

? TUNG

690 CHAN DYNASTY PERSECUTES NESTORIANS

787 SEVENTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

785 CHARLEMAGNE COMPELS SAXONS TO BE XNS

781 TURK KING CONVERTED

754 BEGINNING OF PAPAL STATES

750 CONSTANTINE GIVES PALACE TO POPE

664 SYNOD OF WHITBY

c. 650 TURKS WON AT MERV

635-84 NESTORIANS CONSOLIDATE IN CHINA

CHINESE NESTORIANS FLOURISH

680 BULGARS CROSS DANUBE

794 VIKINGS TAKE LINDESVARN

772 1st SAXON CAMPAIGN

771 CHARLEMAGNE REIGNS

CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE

732 BATTLE OF TOURS

715 SPAIN TO MUSLEMS

711 NORTH AFRICA TO MUSLEMS

622 THE HEGIRA

ISLAM SPREADS IN INDIA

634 ISLAM TAKES SYRIA

638 FALL OF JERUSALEM

640 PERSIA TO ISLAM

590 PLAGUE IN ROME

570 MOHAMMED BORN

568 LOMBARDS INVADE ITALY

555 ITALY PURGED OF GOTH.

533 RECONQUEST OF NORTH AFRICA

533 CODE OF LAWS PUBLISHED

FIRST DARK AGES

BARBARIANS

SECOND CURTAIN RISING

800